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ABSTRACT

Problems of American Indians living in Minneapolis and St. Paul, Minnesota, are discussed in the series of reports presented in this document. Information gathered by questionnaire forms the basis for the reports on junior high school Indian students, elementary school Indian students, teachers of elementary and junior high school Indian students, and attitudes of Indian parents and influential persons toward formal education. An examination of the educational portions of the 1968-69 Urban Indian Hearings held by the National Council on Indian Opportunity is also presented. Reported conclusions relating to the Indians in the metropolitan area are that there appears to be considerable need for (1) education for newly-arriving Indians; (2) vocational training for high school students; (3) job training for those of high school age; (4) college education for those who qualify; (5) home economics training for housewives; and (6) education as to metropolitan agencies, services, and resources. Recommendations based on these conclusions are presented. Related documents are ED 042 214, ED 040 798, and ED 045 275. (PS)

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THE NATIONAL STUDY OF
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Series II
No. 5

INDIANS AND THEIR EDUCATION IN MINNEAPOLIS AND ST. PAUL

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as written by:

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Community Programs
in coordination with the
Office of Community Programs
Center for Urban and Regional Affairs

University of Minnesota
Minneapolis, Minnesota

February 1972

THE NATIONAL STUDY OF AMERICAN INDIAN EDUCATION

INDIANS
AND THEIR EDUCATION
IN MINNEAPOLIS AND
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Introduction and Review

In November of 1956 the Community Welfare Council of Minneapolis produced, under the direction of Mr. Fred Berger, an educationally relevant document entitled The Minnesota Indian in Minneapolis. In the Spring of 1969, the Training Center for Community Programs began educational research in the Twin Cities as part of its obligations to the National Study of American Indian Education, a three-year project under the direction of Professor Robert Havighurst of the University of Chicago. That project, together with other Training Center research and the Berger document, allows the following list of publications to be made:

From: [Document I]	The Minnesota Indian in Minneapolis, by Training Center for Community Programs in coordination with Office of Community Programs Center for Urban and Regional Affairs, University of Minnesota, September 1970.
From: [Document II]	Education-Related Preferences and Characteristics of College-Aspiring Urban Indian Teenagers: A Preliminary Report, by Richard G. Woods and Arthur M. Harkins, University of Minnesota, May, 1969.
From: [Document III]	Indian Education in Minneapolis: An Interim Report, by Arthur M. Harkins, Richard G. Woods and I. Karon Sherarts, University of Minnesota, December, 1969.
From: [Document IV]	Suburban School Children and American Indians: A Survey of Impressions, by Lorie Hanson, Arthur M. Harkins, I. Karon Sherarts, and Richard G. Woods with the assistance of G. William Craig and Mary Zemyan, University of Minnesota, May, 1970.

From: [Document V]	Junior High Indian Children in Minneapolis: A Study of one Problem School, by Arthur M. Harkins, Judith Hammond, I. Karon Sherarts, and Richard G. Woods, University of Minnesota, July, 1970.
From: [Document VI]	The Alienation, Commitment and Indifference of Minneapolis Junior High School Indian Students: A Second Problem School Report, by Arthur M. Harkins, Richard G. Woods, and I. Karon Sherarts, University of Minnesota, December, 1970.
From: [Document VII]	The Teachers of Minneapolis Junior High School Indian Children: A Second "Problem School", by Arthur M. Harkins, I. Karon Sherarts, and Richard G. Woods, University of Minnesota, December, 1970.
From: [Document VIII]	The Teachers of Minneapolis Elementary Indian Children: 1969 Survey Results, by Arthur M. Harkins, I. Karon Sherarts, and Richard G. Woods, University of Minnesota, December, 1970.
From: [Document IX]	The Elementary Education of St. Paul Indian Children: A Study of one Inner-City School, by Arthur M. Harkins, I. Karon Sherarts, and Richard G. Woods, University of Minnesota, December, 1970.
From: [Document X]	The Teachers of St. Paul Elementary Indian Children: 1969 Survey Results, by Arthur M. Harkins, I. Karon Sherarts, Richard G. Woods, University of Minnesota, December, 1970.
From: [Document XI]	Urban Indian Education in Minneapolis: An Interim Analysis of Survey Materials Gathered from School Officials and Influential Persons, by Arthur M. Harkins, I. Karon Sherarts, and Richard G. Woods, University of Minnesota, December, 1970.

From: [Document XII] — Attitudes of St. Paul Indian Parents and Influential Persons Toward Formal Education, by Arthur M. Harkins, I. Karon Sherarts, and Richard G. Woods, University of Minnesota, December 19, 1970.

From: [Document XIII] — The Attitudes of Minneapolis Indian Parents Toward Formal Education, by Arthur M. Harkins, I. Karon Sherarts, and Richard G. Woods, University of Minnesota, December, 1971

From: [Document XIV] — An Examination of the 1968-1969 Urban Indian Hearings Held By the National Council on Indian Opportunity Part I: Education, by Richard G. Woods, and Arthur M. Harkins, University of Minnesota, June, 1971.

The 1956 Berger report contained much of interest to Training Center personnel working on the National Study of American Indian Education. We have chosen to reproduce sections of this and other reports from the above list in order to background properly the readers of this document.

THE MINNESOTA INDIAN IN MINNEAPOLIS

Forward

Minnesota Indians up to a few years ago lived mostly on the reservations in the northern part of the state.

True, there was a good number of Indian families who had come to the City and over a period of years had made a successful adjustment to city life, holding regular jobs, raising families, sending them to school, joining church, using social agency services - much as any other people.

Nevertheless, the large number of Minnesota Indians (mostly Chippewa) were still a part of an older way of life - halfway between an ancient culture and semi-rural, small town culture. There were Indians who were doing well there to, but many more who were not.

A living which depends on wild rice gathering, cutting pulp wood, hunting and fishing, is at best, good for a short-time only and at worst, is near starvation. Indians in northern Minnesota have never taken to farming. The fur and lumbering trades have been gone for many years. The resort business takes capital and has been largely non-Indian. Local attitudes have been discouraging; long time dependence on the "government," whether Federal or local, has increased the apathy and lethargy already the mood of a people defeated in war a hundred years ago.

In the past few years, several hundred families (at least) have moved away from the reservation to the City. In addition, many single young men have headed for the City, in the hope of getting jobs and a better way of life. Most were unskilled, it seems clear; many were uneducated; few had any knowledge of city life.

Some were unable to make any adjustment and went back to the reservation (for it was "home"); some have done well; a substantial number it seems clear, have tried to maintain contact with both the City and the reservation - moving to the City for a while, then back to the reservation as frustration developed. (Partly this was due to the home ties, partly to expectation of payment under tribal treaties with the United States Government, partly to rejection of City ways as contrasted with country or woods ways).

Those who stuck it out in the City (and that number is increasing) had troubles with housing, employment, recreation, the law, welfare, etc. Their troubles have been felt throughout the urban community, though they have lived largely in a

small area near the business district. Public and private health and welfare agencies, churches and civic groups have become concerned for the welfare of the Indians in Minneapolis and have tried to help. Many have been helpful but they recognize that much remains to be done, both here, throughout the State and in the Federal government.

In this Report is incorporated the findings, the conclusions and the recommendations of the Community Welfare Council Committee which has studied the situation during the past year.

Conclusions and Recommendations

1. Education

Conclusion

There appears to be considerable need for education for newly-arriving Indians: vocational training for high school students; job training for those of high school age; college education for those who qualify; home economics training for housewives; education as to metropolitan agencies, services and resources.

Our conclusions relate to the Indians in the metropolitan area. Some of these conclusions would appear to apply with equal force to the reservations, where other kinds of education may also be needed, perhaps related to the development of additional economic opportunities in and near the reservations.

Recommendations

a. At the reservations, the State and Federal Governments should take responsibility for a continuing education program which should prepare Indians for successful living outside the reservation in a program beyond that of the traditional schools and vocational schools. (See Courts "a", Employment "a" and "b", Welfare "b", Housing "a".)

b. Indian youth in Minneapolis should be given guidance at the high school level in courses where they have the greatest desire, aptitude and capacity.

c. There should be classes in home management, particularly though not exclusively for Minneapolis Indians, to be offered through the facilities most appropriate for the purpose.

d. There should be suitable guidance given by the schools and agencies regarding the services of metropolitan

agencies, public and private. (This would seem to apply to non-Indians as well.) Appropriate steps should be taken to inform the Indian population of these opportunities. These should be included in the Recreation and Social Life Directory. (See Recreation and Social Life "c")

e. Special emphasis should be given by the appropriate agency in Minneapolis to counsel the boys or girls at the time they drop out of school prematurely.

Education

Task Committee: Dr. Rufus A. Putnam

Survey of Problems Affecting Indian Children in the Minneapolis Public Schools

1. Schools where most Indian children have been enrolled:
   Phillips Junior High School, 2218 13th Avenue South
   Madison Elementary School, 1509 Fifth Avenue South
   Emerson Elementary School, 1421 Spruce Place
   Washington Elementary School, 723 S. Sixth Street
   Clay Elementary School, 2012 S. Fourth Street

2. Problems affecting Indian children:
   a. In some cases, the families are reluctant to enroll children in school upon arrival in the city.
   b. Newcomers to the city move in with other Indian families, which makes it difficult for the school attendance department to secure an accurate census.
   c. New Indian families coming into the city come from primarily two tribes. There is a lack of leadership, although there is a closeness with their own group.
   d. Indian families fail to follow up on the attendance of their children.
   e. There is a certain amount of suspicion and hostility toward the white people, which makes communication with them most difficult.
   f. Children of high school age are frequently shy and withdraw from mixed groups. Children in the elementary schools are more amenable to mixed groups.
   g. It is frequently difficult to talk with the Indian children and, therefore, rather hard to converse with them.
   h. The visiting teachers have found that in most cases they cannot talk to the mother about the problems of her children because the father is recognized as the head of the family and the one who makes decisions.

i. The children lack proper clothing. The City Department of Public Relief and the Public and Parochial School Child Welfare Committee of the Minneapolis Council of Parent-Teacher Associations, Inc. have attempted to furnish clothing.
j. New families to the city move where other Indians now live, which creates a concentration of Indian families in certain sections of the city.
k. A few of the Indian children leave during the spring of the year, to return to the reservation to work on farms.

3. How the schools have met some of the problems:
   a. Securing clothing from the City Department of Public Relief and the Public and Parochial School Child Welfare Committee of the Minneapolis Council of Parent-Teacher Associations, Inc.
   b. In-service training for teachers having Indian children in their classes.
   c. Work with Indian organizations to correct some of the problems.

EDUCATION-RELATED PREFERENCES AND CHARACTERISTICS OF COLLEGE-ASPIRING URBAN INDIAN TEENAGERS: A PRELIMINARY REPORT

Origin of The Survey

On April 13, 1969, a special meeting of research team members of the National Study of American Indian Education from Baltimore, Chicago and Minneapolis met in St. Paul to discuss the part urban Indian education should play in the larger National Study. Professor Robert Havighurst, Study Director, was chairman for the session and invited guests included Dr. James Wilson, Indian Desk, Office of Economic Opportunity; Madison Coombs, Bureau of Indian Affairs; and Mr. William Craig, President of the American Indian Students' Association, University of Minnesota and Staff Member, Minneapolis Department of Civil Rights.

During the 1-1/2-day conference the problem of securing data from inner-city Indian teenagers was raised, and Dr. Wilson suggested holding a free dance exclusively for Indian teenagers at which a brief questionnaire could be administered. Mr. Craig offered the sponsorship of the American Indian Students' Association for such an affair in Minneapolis, and Professor Arthur Harkins, University of Minnesota, volunteered to design the questionnaire* and provide staff assistance with planning and executing the dance. Subsequently, the aid of a University of Minnesota undergraduate social science class studying urban Indians in the United States was enlisted, and the class successfully solicited donations of facilities, food and entertainment for the dance.

On Friday, May 9 from 11 A.M. to 5 P.M. the dance was held at Coffman Union, University of Minnesota. A special exhibit of posters entered in a contest for Indican children and teenagers decorated the ballroom. An acid rock band provided music and a light show, and hotdogs, soft drinks and potato chips were served. Indian parents served as chaperones for the dance. Indian students were excused from School for the event.

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*The questionnaire was in part constructed from items developed earlier by Professor Murray Wax, University of Kansas, and by several researchers involved in the National Study of American Indian Education, directed by Professor Robert Havighurst, University of Chicago.

As students entered the ballroom, they were given the questionnaire to complete, and each student was instructed to write his name on a numbered stub attached to the questionnaire and deposit it into a box from which prize winners later would be drawn. Both cash and merchandise prizes were awarded throughout the afternoon. Most of the students who completed questionnaires (which were not mandatory) did so at the beginning of the event; a few did not complete questionnaires until later in the afternoon. A copy of the questionnaire is attached to this report.

Usable questionnaires from 135 Indian teenagers were obtained at the dance.

Conclusions and suggestions:

1. The CAs' responses to questions about interpersonal relations confirm the very strong influence of relatives and friends upon Indian youth. Insofar as the results of this questionnaire are concerned, teachers do not seem to be a significant interpersonal influence upon Indian students. Only in the context of task assistance do they outrank friends and relatives, and that difference is not great.

2. The importance of support from friends and relatives for educational endeavors is thus underlined. Educational programs for Indians may depend largely for their success upon the active support of the Indian youth's circle of friends and relatives. Substantial involvement of members from the Indian community in structuring educational programs for and about Indians may be essential. It may be necessary for Indian college recruiters to spend time communicating the purposes, advantages, and practical problems of college education to the relatives and friends of potential Indian college students.

3. A further source of academic motivation for Indian youth might be to strengthen teacher influence through encouraging teachers to learn Chippewa and to develop reasonable competence in Indian history and culture. In this way it is possible that skills might be developed which would enable teachers to relate to their Indian students in a more positive and productive fashion.

INDIAN EDUCATION IN MINNEAPOLIS:
AN INTERIM REPORT

Introduction

Previous research by the Training Center for Community Programs indicates that several education-related assumptions about Minneapolis Indians may be made with some certainty.

First, a steadily increasing number of Indian people are moving to Minneapolis. The educational needs of this unique Minnesota minority group may be expected to create new pressures upon the public education system of Minneapolis for appropriate structural changes.

Second, Indian families tend to be large, so that the immediate need for pre-school, elementary and secondary education is significant. Also, for many Indian families, the school may be potentially the single most important urban institution in terms of its impact upon daily life. The development of a relationship between Indian user populations and the system of public education therefore becomes an important step for Indians to take in achieving a rewarding adaptation to urban life.

Third, it can be anticipated that the education of Indian children in the city will be exacerbated by the problems of poverty. All of the concomitants of low income - poor housing, inadequate diet, family disorganization, insufficient clothing, and lack of support for the educational process at home, to name a few - constitute a drain upon the potential learning of Indian children, and the public school system is therefore wedded to the fight against poverty in its efforts to enhance the learning of Indian children.

Fourth, pressures to adjust to urban life can be expected to strain the identity of many Minneapolis Indians. If it is to serve the needs of the Indian community, therefore, public schooling may need to help migrant Indians transplant such roots as language, history, and culture, and - perhaps more important help Indians establish for themselves what it means to be an urban Indian.

Fifth, the reservation-urban orbit may interrupt the schooling of Indian children, and more effective ways need to be found to ensure the continuation of effective public education for Indian children as migration occurs.

Sixth, in addition to educating Indian children, the public schools in an urban setting like Minneapolis may be able to satisfy other important educational needs. Indian adults with very little formal education may need to acquire basic skills in order to become employable; Indian adults and young people who are school drop-outs may want to return for high school graduation or the G.E.D.; vocational education may be needed by some Indians in order to achieve a better position in the job market; Indian adults may need special courses designed to teach ways of adapting to the city, including utilization of urban agencies which may be sources of help, and including the development of improved understanding of the public schools' operation.

Seventh, whether or not the migration of Indian Americans to the cities parallels the earlier movement of southern, rural blacks to the cities of the north in its eventual expression of bitter despair may be determined in some ways by the extent to which public education can provide a relationship with the newly-emerging urban Indian population that is viewed by Indians as being useful.

The School Experience

As with most large-city school systems, the Minneapolis Public Schools face growing demands for services while beset with increasingly difficult social problems. In 1960 Minneapolis contained only 14% of Minnesota families, yet today it has 28% of Minnesota AFDC families and 79% of the Hennepin County elderly.[1] While the critical problems of core-city poverty and deprivation have become worse, the social, governmental and economic mechanisms for dealing with such problems have not been improved. Because of compulsory school-attendance laws, the dual impact of poverty and race is greater upon the city's Public Schools than it is upon many other metropolitan institutions. Of the Public Schools' approximately 70,000 students, about 14,000 come from situations of poverty, neglect, or delinquency. More than 10% of the student body comes from a racial minority group home. Five of the System's 100 schools have a student body of more than 50% racial minority group students. Also, there is the problem of aging physical facilities: the median age of Minneapolis Public School buildings is 53 years, and the System is using nineteen buildings that are 88 years old or more.[2]

Yet the city's Public Schools have the reputation, largely deserved, of facing contemporary educational difficulties with inventiveness and versatility. Examples of innovation, experimentation and emphases in the city's elementary schools include:

- Use of spelling pattern materials to teach reading.
- Use of the structural approach to teach literature.
- Use of the language experience approach to teach literature.
- Use of Sullivan programmed reading materials.
- Teaching pronunciation and spelling through color-coding phonemes that are alike.
- A special reading motivation project, where librarians meet with talented children to enrich their independent reading during the school day, and aides meet with them after school to read to them or to encourage them to read.
- Use of Michaelis social study units.
- Team teaching.
- Use of listening centers, consisting of headphones, a jack, a taperecorder and/or other audio-visual equipment. Such centers may become (1) an extension of the teacher through taped lessons, (2) an enrichment experience in listening to poetry, literature or music, or (3) a compensatory experience for such children as delayed readers.
- Development of teaching materials indicating what minority groups have contributed to our culture.
- Experimentation with ungraded primary units.
- Minnemast - an integrated mathematics and science program with emphasis upon self-discovery or inductive learning of basic concepts.
- Various experimentations in science instruction.
- New Career aides.
- Hot lunch and bag lunch programs.
- W.I.S.E. Program. Women in Service to Education is an association of 11 women's organizations which recruits volunteers essentially, although not exclusively, from among their members to serve as reading aides.

- Use of school aides for sub-professional duties, especially those emphasizing supportive relationships with children.
- An experimental three-year elementary guidance program in three schools of comparable size on three different socio-economic levels.
- Social Group Workers in three schools provide both group and individual counseling and related services to students whose social or emotional adjustment interferes with the educational process.
- Intern principals.
- Tutoring in 40 schools.
- Research studies on various levels in 40 schools.
- Special Learning Disabilities Resource Program in 40 schools.
- Noon-time French in 9 schools for selected children.
- Creativity projects providing encouragement for gifted children in 4 schools.
- Project Motivation in three schools, where University students act as parent substitutes for children in target area schools to provide enrichment and motivation toward achievement.
- Extended Day Programs in 13 schools which extend the use of buildings and equipment by the whole community.
- Block Home Plans in 10 schools are initiated and sponsored by local P.T.A. units for the identification of safe places for children to go when threatened by some danger on the way to or from school.
- Volunteer tutoring in 12 schools.
- Volunteer aides in 7 schools.
- Comprehensive children's and youth health care projects in 3 schools.
- Community Development Programs in 3 schools, designed to achieve the best use of community resources.
- Two Basic Skills Centers, utilizing "talking typewriters," which are programmed machines that lead the child through activities that are aimed at improving his reading abilities step by step.

- The Task Force on Minority Cultures, a group of elementary and secondary teachers, prepares specialized units on American Indian and Negro cultures, teaches micro units, conducts staff meetings, and talks to P.T.A. and other groups.
- A 25.1 pupil-teacher ratio for kindergarten and a 28.3 ratio for grades one through six.[2]

Similarly, Minneapolis' secondary schools offer a variety of programs and features which are supportive or supplementary to, conventional instruction, such as:

- The Carnegie English Program, a cooperative training program for teachers of English by the University of Minnesota and the Minneapolis Public Schools.
- Teacher sharing, where two or more schools have the same teacher as a part-time staff member.
- Developmental and/or remedial reading to aid the handicapped reader or one who is reading below his potential.
- Team teaching.
- Foreign language in the 7th and/or 8th grade, one or two years before the usual 9th grade level.
- Teacher aides.
- Seminars or independent study for self-motivated students under a skilled teacher.
- Cineview-English, an extensive viewing of films as an art form as well as a means of communication.
- Pupil orientation, a special emphasis on orienting new and transfer students to their new school.
- New Career aides.
- Use of the Resource Teacher, an experienced master teacher released part-time from regular duties to work with new teachers.
- The Humanities Course, usually a combination of subjects in English, social studies, art and music taught by a team of teachers.
- A Work Program for 16 year-olds who have a combination school and on-the-job experience.
- The Self-Contained Class, where a group of students who usually do not have a good school

attitude are put with one teacher for several hours to attempt to change attitudes and increase school achievement.
- 9th Grade Full Year Science, where students may elect a full year Science, where students may elect a full year course with emphasis on individual and small group experiments.
- Paperback Books Program, where a large selection of paperback books are made available to students with a free book given to a student after he reads three others.
- Community involvement of school staff members in out-of-school programs such as tutoring, parent contacts, home visits, etc.
- Police Liaison Project, where a juvenile police officer is assigned to a school to serve as a classroom resource and enhance student and police understanding.
- Basic Classes, which are grouped classes for low achieving students who need extra help in the basic fundamentals.
- Student magazine, a literary magazine to provide students with a readily available forum.
- Minority Culture, an exchange program between students of an inner-city and suburban school.
- Ungraded classes made up of students of several grade levels who are allowed to progress at their own speed.
- Zero Hour Classes, which are classes scheduled before the first hour morning class to enable selected students to take a class not available to them during regular school hours.
- Group Counseling, where counselors meet with small groups of students with similar problems.[4]

The System also conducts a community school program with annual course enrollment of more than 27,000. The program provides classes for adults in a full range of activities at nominal fees within easy distance of the enrollee's home. In addition to courses leading to the high school equivalency certificate (G.E.D.), there are such courses as basic reading, basic English, basic arithmetic, computer programming, modern math for parents, reading improvement, typing, shorthand, bookkeeping and accounting, children's clothing, basic dress patterns, sewing, shortcuts in clothing, creative budget cooking, home plumbing, wood carving, reupholstery, furniture refinishing, auto mechanics, practical politics, race relations, minority history, and Afro-American history.

Special community education efforts include lip reading classes for the adult with impaired hearing, conducted in cooperation with the Minneapolis Hearing Society; classes sponsored by the YWCA and held in six inner-city schools through the Extended School Day Program; special courses in nurse aide training, professional homemaker training, food services training, professional sewing and alterations, typing refresher and office practices, and activities aide training conducted by the Career Clinic for Mature Women for women 38 or older and held in the Public Schools' Adult Education Center; and special credit-free and degree-credit courses offered by the University of Minnesota's General Extension Division in the public schools. Another significant federally-funded community school program is adult basic education, which provides classes in basic language arts and basic arithmetic skills to any adult, age 18 or older. Some areas of general knowledge and importance to adults are also taught, such as health, consumer education, civic responsibility and job attitudes.

In short, the Public Schools can be viewed as a potentially valuable resource to the growing Minneapolis Indian population. They provide a broad spectrum of learning options, and some of these options in particular - the Community School Program, the Extended School Day Program, the employment of teacher aides from minority groups, instruction in minority history and culture, and Adult Basic Education - could be of immense help to Indians wanting to construct a new urban Indian identity, a positive culture for Indians choosing to live in the city, a culture perhaps based upon Indian ways of mastering the urban environment. The nature of the bargain now being forged by Indian adults and the Public Schools - a bargain evidenced by special educational programs for Indians, by the employment of Indians at all levels, and by the development and utilization of a special Indian advisory committee - can be expected to largely determine the utility of public education for this special population.

The conventional educational task, that of dealing with Indian young people in Minneapolis, offers considerable challenge. According to the 1968 racial sight count in the city's schools, the numbers of Indian children attending the Public Schools were:

Elementary -	1,128
Junior High School -	345
Senior High School -	156
	1,629 [5]

The impact of an estimated 60% drop-out rate is revealed by these simple figures. While Indian young people account for 2.3% of the total Public School enrollment, Indians account for only .9% of all senior high school students. These 1968 sight count data represent an increase in the total number of Indian children in all schooling categories over the 1967 sight count. Contrasted with the 1,629 Indian children counted in 1968 were 1,357 in 1967. In 1967, Indian students accounted for only 1.9% of the total Public School enrollment.[6] In 1967 ten Indians graduated from Minneapolis high schools.[7] There were 54 Indian high school graduates in 1968.[8] The high drop-out rate is attributed by Indian leaders and school personnel to a complex of feelings and desires on the part of Indian young people. They often seem to feel discriminated against by non-Indian students, and they frequently feel that teachers are unsympathetic to Indians. Some Indian students say they experience a general feeling of being disrespected and looked down upon, and there are many cases where clothing is perceived as being inadequate for school. There is frequently the conviction that there is little value in completing high school, and Indian young people appear to emulate peers who drop out of school. Some Indian students simply want to find work or want to get away from home as soon as possible. On another level, there may be significant differences between values held by some Indians and the value system reinforced by the Public Schools, raising severe conflicts and questions of identity for Indian students. The educational experiences of Indian parents may not have been rewarding, so that parental influence upon children may not be positive. Earlier we noted that 52% of a sample of 100 Minneapolis inner-city Indian residents had not graduated from high school.[9] Consequently, parents may feel isolated from and powerless over the school system; this may lead to lack of involvement of parents, which simply amplifies the isolation of their children. Teachers may be unsympathetic to Indian children because of prejudice, or they simply may not have sufficient information and understanding about the heritage and culture of modern Indian children and their parents to be able to be sympathetic.

There is also the matter of racial imbalance. The accompanying table shows that, according to the 1968 sight count of pupils, 48% of the Indian children enrolled in elementary schools during 1968 were attending only seven of the System's 73 schools, and 38% of the Indian junior

high school students were attending only two schools. The table also indicates that several of these schools have significant minorities of black pupils, a matter of particular concern to Indian parents and their children because of frequent conflicts between Indians and blacks in such schools. The Minneapolis School Board regards racially imbalanced schools as contributors to "growing up in a one-sided world," and the State Board of Education has approved for public hearing a proposed regulation that would require integrated schools in Minnesota, regardless of segregated housing patterns.[10] No systematic survey of Indian parents' attitudes about public school desegragation exists, but some Indian spokesmen have suggested the desirability of an exclusively Indian high school to combat the excessive drop-out rate. Association as Indians seems to be important to some Indian students, also. In one senior high school about 25 Indian students have formed the True American Native Students group, and in another school Indian students requested, and were allowed, their own home room. Such associations may be all the more important because opportunities to relate to Indian teachers are rare. A current report lists only nine American Indian teachers in the entire System, while indicating that there were 26 teachers of Oriental ancestry and 181 black teachers. The total number of teachers in the district was 3,200.[11]

A special handicap of many Indian students, according to school officials, is mobility. The standard 13-column school card used to keep records of address changes are not adequate for some Indian students by the time they have reached the sixth grade.[12] Some observers have noted that, as Indian children grow older, there is a tendency for them to change residence relatively frequently so as to be able to live with various relatives in Minneapolis. Another problem exists with Indian children whose families keep them out of school until the wild rice harvest or hunting season is over; these pupils may lose as much as eight weeks of the 38 required. In general, truancy is a more nettlesome problem with Indian students, and Indian parents typically seem uncertain about what to expect from school attendance officials and resentful about the practice of labeling Indian pupils "delinquent" after repeated truancy.[13]

ENROLLMENT OF INDIAN AND BLACK PUPILS IN MINNEAPOLIS PUBLIC SCHOOLS HAVING TEN PERCENT OR MORE INDIAN PUPILS

	INDIAN		BLACK	
Schools	Number	% of Total Enrollment	Number	% of Total Enrollment
Elementary Schools:				
Adams	95	26.2	48	13.2
Clinton	54	12.2	104	23.5
Emerson	29	14.1	9	4.4
Greeley	141	22.4	45	7.2
Hall	77	18.5	53	12.7
Irving	73	12.0	14	2.3
Seward	76	10.9	7	1.0
Hennepin County Home School	3	37.5	1	12.5
65 other elementary schools	580	1.7	3,018	8.6
All elementary schools combined	1,128	3.0	3,299	8.6
Junior High Schools:				
Franklin	63	13.8	59	12.9
Phillips	168	19.8	62	7.3
Hennepin County Home School	11	10.0	14	12.7
13 other Junior High schools	103	0.8	941	7.3
All junior high schools combined	345	2.4	1,076	7.5

Data are from the Minneapolis Public Schools 1968 sight count of pupils. None of the senior high schools had 10% or more Indian enrollment; South High had the largest Indian enrollment - 5%.

Attitudes of Minneapolis Inner-City Residents

One important influence upon the success of educational efforts planned for or with Indian people is the cluster of perceptions they report concerning such aspects of their lives in Minneapolis as community spirit, interpersonal relations, family responsibility, schools, churches, economic behavior, local government and tension areas. A special questionnaire probing these attitudes was administered to the 100 inner-city Minneapolis Indian residents described earlier. Since 83% of that sample reported having children, it may be that the attitudes they revealed are sufficiently representative of Indian parents to warrant mention here. Specific and detailed responses to each of the forty questions asked are available elsewhere,[14] and only the most general results will be reported here except for the questions dealing specifically with schools.

Questions about the quality of community spirit in the neighborhoods of these Indian residents yielded responses that suggest some dissatisfaction with neighborhood conditions, particularly on the part of men. Lack of concern about the appearance of the neighborhood, lack of cooperative effort to accomplish things for the community, and lack of community spirit which were perceived by these Indian persons in the realm of family responsibility. Lack of control of children by their families, the absence of respect on the part of children for others' rights and property, and failure of parents to establish behavior expectations for their children were seen as detriments to the community. The neighborhood churches were believed to be worthwhile by these respondents, but they tended to feel that too many church members failed to live by church standards. Surprisingly, questions about economic behavior did not reveal serious dissatisfaction with the system of economics, but there was the perception that neighborhood employers paid their employees too little. When the effectiveness of local government was probed, lack of real neighborhood leaders, lack of attention by the city government to the needs of the neighborhood, and inequities in the administration of justice were seen as severe shortcomings. Questions about tension areas revealed mixed responses. There was strong agreement that it was not necessary to spend much money in order to be accepted in the neighborhood, and it was generally agreed that race and nationality were not determinants of acceptance. However, the neighborhood was <u>not</u> perceived

as being peaceful and orderly. In addition, a large proportion of respondents felt that too many neighborhood young people got into difficulty with sex and drinking.

The percentages of response for each question dealing with the schools and the questions themselves are reported below. In each case, the respondent could choose the category "strongly agree," "agree," "undecided," "disagree," or "strongly disagree."

Schools in this neighborhood do a poor job of preparing young people for life.

13	22	33	29	3
SA	A	UD	D	SD

Schools in this neighborhood do a good job of preparing students for college.

6	19	45	17	13
SA	A	UD	D	SD

High school graduates in this neighborhood take an active interest in making their community a better place in which to live.

3	16	40	33	8
SA	A	UD	D	SD

Many young people in this neighborhood do not finish high school.

11	41	34	9	5
SA	A	UD	D	SD

Most of the students in this neighborhood learn to read and write well.

7	34	36	17	6
SA	A	UD	D	SD

These inner-city Indian residents are aware that most young people in their neighborhoods do not finish high school, and they are inclined to believe that high school graduation does not bring with it strong motivation to improve the community. But the most interesting aspect of their responses to these questions is the uncertainty revealed about the actual functioning of the schools. This uncertainty suggests inadequate parent-school contact and communication, and it also raises the possibility that Indian parents may not know what to expect from the Public Schools and that they may feel that they are unable to deal with school personnel and practices. One Minneapolis Indian woman has

observed that Indian parents "are afraid to come to school and only go there when their child is in trouble and they are called."[15] We have already noted that Indian adults are aware of neighborhood problems having to do with the behavior control of children and young people, and it appears that Indian parents - who have typically had very little success with formal education themselves - most often find that they are in contact with representatives of the schools when their children's behavior problems must be faced. Too often, their first contact with the schools is when they are met with combined pressure from school and juvenile authorities at the moment of a major crisis surrounding the behavior of their children. Another study has revealed that Indian parents are quite similar to white parents in their belief that education is necessary and important for their children,[16] but influencing and controlling their children so that the educational experience will have meaning and significance for them may be a vastly greater task for Indian parents than for many other parents.[17]

One group of approximately thirty Indian parents, concerned about the educational failure of Indian children and perhaps about their powerlessness in relation to the Public Schools, met in June of 1968 with the Minneapolis Superintendent of Schools to urge that special steps be taken to deal with problems of Indian education. This first official contact between an organized group of urban Indians and the Public Schools added impetus to growing pressures from teachers for more instructional material about Indian culture and life. Later that month, community programs specialists at the University of Minnesota were asked by school staff members to undertake sensitivity training of selected teachers about Indians in Minneapolis. The University representatives proposed that Indian parents and other concerned Indian citizens - rather than white professionals - be invited to plan, organize, implement and evaluate a one-week training session to be supported by funds and other resources from the Public Schools and the University. The University's Training Center for Community Programs supplied a list of Indian persons who might be interested in planning and participating in such a workshop, and, in turn, these Indian people suggested other Indians who could help.[18]

During July and early August, this group of Indian people held several open meetings at which any interested Indian was welcome for the purpose of structuring the training session. The end product was a one-week sensitivity course held in

August at an elementary school in the poverty area and featuring presentations from 32 Indians and five non-Indians. College professors, a tribal chairman, an Indian Community Action Program Director, Indian parents, the director of an Indian Center, the Secretary of the State Indian Affairs Commission, an Indian community organizer, and Indian teenagers were among those making presentations, suggesting the broad range of perspectives explored during the week. Among the topics discussed were:

Historical and Cultural Factors Regarding the Chippewa and the Sioux
Tribal Organization of the Chippewa
Tribal Organization of the Sioux
Historical Aspects of the Boarding School
Our Chippewa Students
Our Sioux Students
Transition from Reservation to Urban life
What is a Reservation?
Urban Indians, Employment and Social Services
Teen Panel Discussion
Parent Panel Discussion
Overview of Indian Serving Agencies

The training session was enthusiastically received by the teachers, who urged that such training be required of all teachers in the System. One person who attended the workshop observed:

> We had admitted our frustrations among ourselves, we had hoped for guidance from our Universities and Colleges, as well as our own administration, but we had never thought of going directly to the Indian himself!.... Some of us may have been surprised that the Indian community shares our concern, that they value education for their children and want to be full and equal partners with the schools in bringing about changes that will create a spirit of trust so that the Indian student can reap the benefits of the education so necessary for meaningful jobs as a way of getting out of the rut or failure and despair...[19]

Because of the effort's success, and because it was anticipated that there would be future problems requiring direct input from the Indian community, a permanent and formal organization was constituted and named the Indian Advisory Committee to the Minneapolis Public Schools.[20] Its purpose was to serve in an advisory capacity to the Public Schools on all educational matters pertaining to Indians. The committee has concerned itself with such matters as textbook evaluation, grievances of Indian parents, development of materials on Indian education and culture, planning of curriculum, and participating in workshops and human relations seminars.[21] Probably the Committee's most significant accomplishment during its early months has been its recommendation that the Public Schools create the special position of Consultant in Indian Affairs. That recommendation was accepted by the System, a job description was negotiated by members of the Advisory Committee and members of the Superintendent's staff, and personnel interviewed and selected the new Indian Affairs Consultant.[22] The candidate chosen was an Indian.

SUBURBAN SCHOOL CHILDREN AND AMERICAN INDIANS:

A SURVEY OF IMPRESSIONS

Preface

As a result of the findings presented and discussed in this report, the University of Minnesota's College of Education and General Extension Division will soon begin video taping a nine-credit Indian education college course for possible state-wide telecasting during the 1970-71 academic year. This project will be jointly sponsored by many white, Indian, and mixed organizations and groups. It will be a small attempt to help "plug the gap" existing in Bloomington, Minnesota's school system and, we believe, in many school systems over the state. The quality and relevance of this televised course will be directly related to many of the organizational, communications-related, scholarly and ideological notions dealt with throughout the report. It is hoped that the course will be a success in at least three ways: that it will first of all attempt to deal positively with some of the "attitudes" which we have found in the Bloomington research, and which we know to exist from research findings elsewhere in the state; secondly, we hope that certain "factual" matters concerning the American Indian and his life styles before and after white contact will be dealt with in a manner acceptable to canons of objectivity and truth and all parties involved; and thirdly, we hope that, following reasonable success in attaining the first two goals, the course will provide adequate incentive and means for teachers all over Minnesota to develop their own curriculum units on American Indians for classroom use. We believe that a great deal can be expected of Minnesota's teachers in this regard, and it is hoped that means will be available to distribute the best of their curriculum development efforts on a state-wide basis. Throughout this entire effort, a maximum amount of energy will be devoted to presenting information about contemporary, living and breathing Americans Indians in the context of relevant historical and cultural antecedents. This report helps point up the basic need for such a focus.

JUNIOR HIGH INDIAN CHILDREN IN MINNEAPOLIS:

A STUDY OF ONE PROBLEM SCHOOL

Introduction

People constitute the most important resource in the nation. When any part of the national population is not contributing its share, especially to the economy, and is leading a marginal or submarginal existence, a problem exists which calls for study and correction. Whether we speak of economically uncontributive off-spring of aristocracy, of youthful members of the "sliding" middle-class, of the physically handicapped, the socially unskilled, or people marching to "different drummers", we are not yet in a position to excuse them from statistically proportionate shares of contribution to the national well-being.

Metropolitan areas such as the Twin Cities will no doubt continue to attract people from economically poor, rural areas for the foreseeable future. The Twin Cities offer comparative opportunity for employment, and such conveniences as water, heat, lights, amenities, and freedom from harsher environments. Many rural Indians migrating to the Twin Cities are "pushed" from their rural setting by virtue of the hardships there, and are "pulled" to the metropolis by the lure of better conditions and the opportunity for work. Many find their conditions little better upon arrival, and many more find work difficult to obtain and perhaps not always to their taste. Many of these adult Indian migrants have children who will enter the Minneapolis schools and some have children who have actually been in these schools one or more times in the past. Under present conditions these children must obtain the minimum amount of formal school education - the high school diploma - before they will have much statistical chance of success in the job market. It is even possible that many of these children will find, after they have obtained a high school diploma and grown to adulthood, that the relevance of this educational license to success in the world of work may be quite less direct than they had been led to suppose. Nevertheless, it is commonly accepted among Indian populations that some positive correlation does exist between the award of a high school diploma and comparative success in the job market.

General adult Indian commitment appears to exist to the accepted notion that formal education achievement is positively linked to economic success. However, many Indian children - perhaps as high as sixty percent of them - do not

complete their high school experience in both reservation and urban areas. While Indian parents have been observed to faithfully parrot the ideologic elements of the diploma-means-job-success dogma, it can often be shown that these same Indian parents have reared children who did not complete their high school education, and that many are on the road to repeating this experience with younger offspring. A major 1969 report of the Federal government has well documented the failures of Indian education in reservation areas[23] and, even though this report has recently been assailed by a former BIA bureaucrat,[24] the basic findings of the Federal report appear to remain valid. We are only now beginning to gather data on Indian education in urban areas of the United States, but what findings are in tentatively point to at least as severe a range of educational problems in the cities as elsewhere.[25] The complicated interchange between Indian educational and other problems in the cities and the reservation areas of Minnesota has also been discussed in recent research,[26] and was stimulated by still earlier work performed by the Waxes among the Pine Ridge Sioux.[27]

Some findings of the Special Subcommittee on Indian Education are of direct importance to this study of one junior high school in Minneapolis. We are going to reproduce these findings here and attempt to keep them in mind during the course of this report. Our intent will be that of attempting to discover where these findings apply to one particular junior high school (Bryant), and where the general findings do not appear adequate for this school.

1. Indian Participation and Control
   American Indians have little, if any, influence or control in the education of their children in the public schools.
   A. Indian membership on school boards which have jurisdiction in districts educating Indians is rare.
   B. The white power structure often thwarts Indian attempts to gain representation on school boards.
   C. Indian attempts to win curriculum reforms which recognize Indian history and culture are often met with resistance from school administrators.

D. A strong feeling of powerlessness pervades Indian communities in regard to their attempts to improve the education provided in public schools.

2. Curriculum

Public schools educating Indians rarely include coursework which recognized Indian history, culture or language, and often use materials and approaches which are derogatory toward Indians.

A. Public schools in many States use history and social studies textbooks which ignore the Indian's role in history or grossly distort that role.
B. The primary result of the manner (sic) Indians are treated in the history textbooks in use today is a propagation of inaccurate stereotypes.
C. Most public schools do not take into consideration the language difficulties of many Indian students.
D. There is a definite lack of bilingual and bicultural materials in schools educating Indians.

3. Attitudes

Many school administrators and teachers consider Indian pupils inferior to white students, and thus expect them to fail, both in school and in life.

A. An anti-Indian attitude is often prevalent in white communities in which Indians receive public school education.
B. Many school districts relegate Indians to the lowest level in their tracking systems.
C. Some administrators refuse to cooperate with the Indian community in their school district and discourage or do not permit Indian particpation in decision making.
D. Indians are often promoted each year regardless of grades just so they can be kept in school, thus assuring the local district of receiving Federal aid because of the presence of Indian students. One public school district goes so far as to falsify Indian achievement test results because the students were so far behind national norms that "it just wouldn't look good."

E. Teachers and administrators are often insensitive to Indian values and ignorant of Indian culture.[28]

As we indicated above, an effort will be made in this report to determine whether these general indictments of public education for American Indian children apply to the Bryant Junior High School in Minneapolis. In some instances, of course, our data and that of preceding studies which we will review are not adequate to answer certain questions about the applicability of specific Federal indictments to Bryant.

The Task Force Report of 1969

On January 24, 1969 the Minneapolis Public Schools released a research document entitled A Community Looks At Its Schools. The document was a preliminary report resulting from an "inter-agency task force approach" to the problems of three Minneapolis schools: Lincoln Junior High School, Hay Elementary School, and Bryant Junior High School. While two separate task forces took responsibility for conducting research in each of these Minneapolis schools, both operated from reasonably common methodological perspectives:

> Preliminary planning for Task Force operations resulted in selection of three general means of obtaining information on which to base conclusions and recommendations. The first was the preparation of a resource notebook containing background information about the students who most frequently used support services, their school and community. For example, included were student data such as attendance rates, failure percentages, achievement percentiles, contacts with police and number of and reasons for students being excused from school. School information included staff roster information, programs, teachers' experience. Census data, socio-economic levels and related social agencies were listed under community data.
>
> The second means of information gathering was for Task Force members to make observations in the schools (Bryant Junior High and the Hay-Lincoln Concentrated Educational Center). These observations included every aspect of the program

and services in each school. Specific plans for the observations were developed by each Task Force with the staff of the respective schools.

Third, additional information was gathered by interviews held with all relevant persons in the schools as well as with parents and representatives of neighborhood and youth-serving agencies.[28]

Some Action Possibilities Suggested by the Teacher-Administrator Questionnaire

The following suggestions for further action at Bryant Junior High School are derived from the teacher-administrator questionnaire administered by Miss Hammond:

1. Both Bryant teachers and administrators demonstrate a woeful lack of sufficient knowledge about Indian students BY THEIR OWN ADMISSION;

2. Teaching success as measured by Bryant professionals is middling to low with regard to Indian students - workshops and seminars should be useful in bringing out the specifics of these negative self-evaluations as a preliminary to the development of action programs;

3. Further investigation should be conducted of the apparent unwillingness of Bryant teachers to become more involved in the personal lives of Indian students;

4. Credit courses should be provided for Bryant teachers and administrators on Indian history and culture;

5. Wherever possible, field work should accompany these credit experiences;

6. Further investigation should be conducted into the distinct unwillingness of teachers to become involved with Indian students in out-of-school activities;

7. Further investigation should be conducted into the apparent unwillingness of teachers to become tutors to Indian students;

8. TEACHER-PLEASING INDIAN STUDENT BEHAVIOR PATTERNS SHOULD BE ELABORATED AND RELATED TO THE CLASSROOM IN PRACTICAL WAYS WHENEVER POSSIBLE - THESE THEMES WERE - STUDENT INTEREST, STUDENT COURTESY, AND POSITIVE RECIPROCITY (OR THE RETURNING OF A FAVOR FOR A FAVOR);

9. THE APPARENT UNWILLINGNESS OF TEACHERS TO EXTEND POSITIVE RECIPROCITY TO STUDENTS WHILE STUDENTS HOPE FOR SUCH RECIPROCITY SHOULD BE EXAMINED WITH RESPECT TO ITS POSSIBLE DAMAGING EFFECTS UPON THE HUMAN AND TEACHING-LEARNING CHARACTERISTICS OF BRYANT JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL;

10. The whole area of Indian student behavior and the control of his behavior in the classroom, in the hall ways and on the school grounds should be the focus of year-long seminars and workshops involving all Bryant school populations -- pilot action programs should be initiated in this extremely important area and should be linked to FUNCTIONALLY APPROPRIATE IMPLEMENTATIONS OF MUTUALLY AGREEABLE RECIPROCITY SCHEMES BETWEEN INDIAN STUDENTS AND SCHOOL PROFESSIONALS.

Some Overview Commentary

A severe dissonance exists between the culture of the American Indian in Minnesota and non-Indian styles of life. The concept of cultural dissonance is not intended to pass judgment upon Indian culture or white culture - instead the term is meant to refer to an adjustive process engaging both whites and Indians in their attempts to better deal with one another. Cultural dissonance is apparent in several important aspects of Minnesota Indian life related to success or failure in public education:

> Formal schooling of any type represents a discontinuity of experience for most Indian children; this discontinuity impedes the child's early scholastic achievement.
>
> The degree of discontinuity is affected by several important factors, such as the level of parental education, the family economic background, and the style of family and peer life to which the child is accustomed.
>
> Where disorganization is strong in Indian communities, there is a fundamental problem for Indian young people of ethnic ambivalence and lack of identity.
>
> Indian communities and neighborhoods often tend to restrict the level of useful aspirations through the absence of educated models.

Indian children and non-Indian slum children (in city or country) exhibit similar behavior in the classroom: (1) both are unfamiliar with the school structure, with expectations held by teachers and with classroom procedures; (2) both diverge from the normative group values attached to cleanliness, attendance and punctuality; (3) both often have poor health, are listless and under-nourished; (4) both show evidence of cognitive variance from their middle-class peers; (5) both have difficulty in verbalizing, and tend to have depressed scores on IQ tests and low achievement levels. While these similarities are striking, the causes differ significantly in many cases. For example, Indian children do grow up in different group settings, each having cultural and subcultural aspects of rich variation and depth. However, this early experience, rich as it may be, does not prepare the child for public school routines and activities.

Environmental differences tend to have a depressing effect upon the Indian child's achievement of certain skills and abilities. The same or other environmental differences are also important to the middle-class child whose cultural background is out of step with school expectations. Such environmental differences do not automatically imply that children from such backgrounds will be unable to learn skills later on, but it does mean that if they have not learned them during earlier and more optimum periods for development they will take longer to do so when given the opportunity.

Negative opinion about Indian educational interests abounds. Some Minnesotans picture the average Indian adult as lax in his concern for the benefits of public education, ignorant about the relationship of education and success in the job market, and generally unaware of the quality of education provided by the schools in the state. But recent research in Minnesota reservation and urban areas indicates that Indians and local white people are almost identically and unanimously aware of these relationships, and that educational aspirations for their children are also close together. Both groups of parents point to about the same reasons why a formal education allows for greater ranges of job choices -- that is, they both understand with the same degree of sophistication more detailed kinds of specific events that go on in schools and how these events are linked to the job market or to the demands for further

educational experiences. Indian parents are deeply concerned, sometimes more than local white parents, about educational issues that affect their children. Most do not, however, possess the day-to-day skills to put these educational values to "work" for their children.

Similar to the myths about Indian parental attitudes toward education are those which are often unfriendly toward inferred attitudes of Indian children, especially teenagers. Yet additional research[30] has acted to modify these stereotypes with the following conclusions:

> A substantial group of inner-city Indian teenagers exists with positive orientations toward higher education. If the high school dropout barrier can be surmounted (or if appropriate alternatives to a conventional high school education can be devised), recruitment of Indian college students can proceed on the local level, although the matter of appropriate recruitment approaches and incentives may need to be explored.

Another important finding suggested the crucial nature of support from friends and relatives for Indian educational endeavors. Success of educational endeavors for Indians may depend largely upon the active support of the Indian youth's circle of friends and relatives. Substantial involvement of members from the Indian community in structuring educational programs for and about Indians is essential. It may be necessary for Indian college recruiters to spend time communicating the purposes, advantages, and practical problems of college education to the relatives and friends of potential Indian college students. Specifically, such attention to the social context of the Indian child might fall within the following areas:

> Increasing parental understanding and interest in formal education;
>
> Increasing acquaintance with school-style English practice and development;
>
> Structuring a positive system of sanctions for learning which is actively supported by parents, relatives, and peers;

> Structuring a discipline framework within which the Indian child may know the parameters of his school existence and the supporting non-school environment.
>
> Building life-style patterns and routines which emphasize sufficient nutrition, sleep, quiet for study, and social predictability in and out of school. [emphases added]

It is not only the dropout rate that reflects the general failure of Indian education. For the past ten to fifteen years, a growing body of literature from psychological testing and clinical testing reveals severe mental health problems for Indian youngsters, with an attendant suicide rate much higher than the national average. Alienation and anomie generally accompany these emotional problems and even result in Indians becoming separated from other Indians. The school is the main area of confrontation with the dominant culture, yet it is the school which will offer Indians their greatest opportunity for a viable and productive style of life as adults. Indian education projects must recognize the great potential of the school and help to make it useful to the Indian child. The schools must help the Indian child to answer his most pressing question, "Who am I?"

Do the Bryant Data Support the Senate Subcommittee Findings?

It is now time to attempt a summary of the data gathered in the Bryant-TCCP survey and in previous Bryant survey reviewed in this report. As we indicated in the early pages of this document, we will direct our attention to the "Summary of Public School Findings" from the 1969 Report of the Special Senate Subcommittee on Indian Education.[31]

> 1. What amount and kind of influence or control in the education of their children do Bryant parents have? It is evident that "a strong feeling of powerlessness" does indeed characterize the relationship of American Indian parents to Bryant Junior High School. This impression of powerlessness appears to prevent Indian parents from more than minimal contact with Bryant, and tends to restrict even this minimal contact to times when their children are in difficulty. There appear to have been few attempts - if any - on the part of Bryant parents to "win curriculum reforms which recognize Indian history and culture," and few attempts on the part of Bryant staff to initiate significant Indian curriculum changes.

2. Does Bryant Junior High School include course-work which "recognizes Indian history, culture, or language?" Does Bryant "often use materials and approaches which are derogatory toward Indians?" It is apparent that Bryant Junior High School had made no significant efforts to develop Indian curriculum materials at the time of this study. This study did not attempt to answer the question whether history and social studies textbooks "grossly distort" the role of American Indians, but it did attempt to find the extent of derogatory approaches toward Bryant indian students and their parents. We found no evidence of gross derogation; we did find AN APPALLING ABSENCE OF HUMAN AND PROFESSIONAL CONCERN FOR INDIAN STUDENTS ON THE PART OF A SIGNIFICANT NUMBER OF BRYANT CLASSROOM TEACHERS.

3. Do Bryant school administrators and teachers "consider Indian pupils inferior to white students, and thus expect them to fail, both in school and in life?" Our survey data indicate that MANY BRYANT CLASSROOM TEACHERS APPEAR TO BE GROSSLY IGNORANT OF INDIAN LIFE STYLES, AND SHOW LITTLE EVIDENCE THAT THEY ARE WILLING TO MAKE HUMAN CONTACT WITH THEIR INDIAN STUDENTS. THERE IS STRONG EVIDENCE, HOWEVER, THAT MANY BRYANT CLASSROOM TEACHERS WOULD ENROLL IN CREDIT COURSES ON INDIAN HISTORY AND CULTURE. It is also apparent that BOTH CLASSROOM TEACHERS AND ADMINISTRATIVE PERSONNEL AT BRYANT HAVE CONTRIBUTED TO LOW LEVELS OF SELF ESTEEM AMONG INDIAN STUDENTS, AND TO PREDICTIONS OF HIGH SCHOOL FAILURE AND SOMEWHAT UNIMPRESSIVE POST-SCHOOL ADULT OCCUPATIONAL CHOICES. It is also evident that THE PROPOSED BRYANT PLAN COULD MAKE SUBSTANTIAL STRIDES IN RELATING THE INDIAN COMMUNITY TO BRYANT JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL THROUGH SIGNIFICANT INVOLVEMENT IN THE DAY-TO-DAY FUNCTIONS OF BRYANT, THUS OVERCOMING A MAJOR DIFFICULTY IN PREVIOUS COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT ATTEMPTS: THE "USE" OF INDIAN PARENTS TO SUBSTANTIATE PRE-DETERMINED SCHOOL OPERATIONS. It was not a function of the Bryant-TCCP survey to determine the extent of "social passing", if any, where Bryant Indian students are concerned.

Not included in the public school findings of the Senate Subcommittee Final Report, but a major finding in the Bryant-TCCP survey was the issue of positive reciprocity among the various population groups at Bryant. It seems to us that along with increased communications among Indian parents and students, and Bryant administrative and teacher personnel, mutually agreeable new techniques should be included for insuring rewarding human trade-offs among these population categories. Time and time again in this report we have called

attention to the apparent absence of teacher willingness to engage in such trade-offs with Bryant Indian students and their parents. IT IS OUR ASSERTION THAT WHATEVER VALUE THIS PARTICULAR REPORT MAY HAVE TO INDIAN PEOPLE AND EDUCATORS IS ESSENTIALLY BOUND UP IN THE STATEMENTS IT HAS HAD TO MAKE ABOUT THE NEED FOR POSITIVE RECIPROCAL EXCHANGE SYSTEMS BETWEEN INDIANS AND NON-INDIANS ASSOCIATED WITH BRYANT. We have a great deal of faith in certain highly principled and excellently qualified personnel at Bryant Junior High School, and we are certain, especially after communicating the early results of this survey to them during the spring of 1970, that they will devote vigorous attention to the possible implications of newly developed positive reciprocity systems within the school. The final section of this report contains earlier thinking by university of Minnesota persons on this subject. (The structurally innovative aspects of the Plan For Bryant appear to have taken into account many of the suggestions contained in the final section.)

A few more comments are also possible:

1. Despite the often degrading working atmospheres of public schools, atmospheres which tend to quickly erode teacher enthusiasm and humanity, and despite the timid, unimaginative approach of many central school administrations to inner-city education problems, MANY OF THESE DIFFICULTIES APPEAR TO STEM DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY FROM TWO OTHER SOURCES: STATE DEPARTMENTS OF EDUCATION AND TEACHER TRAINING INSTITUTIONS. It is our hope that the implications of this survey for possible innovations in teacher licensing procedures, in the licensing of non-graduate personnel for classroom and other school use, and in the pre-and in-service conception and conduct of professional growth credit and college credit educational experiences will be recognized. These considerations will be the subject of a latter TCCP report scheduled to appear in several months, after completion of additional research reports on Indian education in Minneapolis and St. Paul.

2. The general interest shown in learning about American Indian people in other places appears to offer some interesting possibilities. Interest shown on the part of most parents, teachers, students and administrators in learning more about the ways in which other Indians educate their children may offer some fascinating practical possibilities. Further conceptual work on these areas, on the development of any pilot projects connected with them raises

immediate questions about: the nature and developmental directions of contemporary American Indian life styles; the preparation of excellent curriculum materials geared to the Indian present; the possible utilization of sophisticated multi-media techniques; the responses of Indian politicians to such developments; and many more eventualities.

3. Indian students show positive responses to the question "Do you want more money to buy new things?" By themselves, these responses may signal some changes in traditional Indian values concerning material matters, but when Indian students express a strong desire to get jobs, as they have in this study, further very important questions must be raised about the current directions of Indian cultural change. Large positive student response to the idea of working for desired things as the best way to get them is certainly a "dominant society" value; it also raises further questions about whether Bryant Junior High Indian children understand just exactly what work is and what it requires on a day-to-day basis.

4. Indian students do not like science, English, Health, Social Studies, and reading - all the things academically important for further education beyond high school. Although it is the case that many other non-Indian students do not "like" such subjects, it is statistically the case that many of those other students will have much higher acquaintance with such courses, and score higher in them as enrollees than Indian students. It appears that efforts should be directed toward making such courses much more attractive to Indian students at Bryant.

5. It is important to recognize that the strong teacher reluctance to get involved in Indian student's lives may be directly correlated with institutional prohibitions, formal and informal, working against such human contact. The possible roles of teacher training requirements and procedures should also be looked into with regard to problems in teacher-Indian student interaction.

6. The small size of willing Indian parent participants in this survey again requires us to raise cautionary comment about the meaning of parental data in this survey. It is our feeling, however, that those Indian parents who did participate in the Bryant-TCCP project probably represent a more benign and positively oriented parent category than the majority of those who did not choose to participate. The implications of

this statistically unsupportable conclusion, assuming its validity, are of fundamental importance to Indian people, to educators, and to Indian politican-professionals.

A Modest Proposal

A few months ago, G. William Craig, Arthur Harkins and Richard Woods drafted a brief position paper-proposal directed toward some of the Indian education problems defined in this report. The balance of this final section contains a slightly edited version of that proposal, circulated locally in late 1969, because we believe it is of possible relevance to the framers of the Plan for Bryant.

For several years the issue of "local control" vs. control by the "establishment" has been a complex and emotional subject for schoolmen and interested citizens alike. In this section, we wish to outline a rather simple set of mechanics by which community residents might learn to participate in the control of their schools, while schoolmen learn to participate in the communities from which school populations are drawn. We will not argue for an ocean Hill-Brownsville-style surrender of the schools to local community segments ill-equipped to operate them, nor will we opt for a token (and insignificant) input by "the local community" in the day-to-day functions of the school. We will suggest that the schools require trained, intelligent and imaginative involvement by user populations which did not create these agencies, but which have much to gain from learning to operate them, even to bend them, in some cases, to their special needs.

As we have implied, the problem with Ocean Hill-Brownsville was that it was "too much, too soon"; it asked of a minority of urban black people that they suddenly be able to transform their zeal to participate in the schools into the competent expertise demanded by the day-to-day operational requirements of these schools. This is not possible for any population which has not been able to share in the day-to-day operations of the schools, any more than it is possible for a schoolman from the white community to become, overnight, an everyday functioning member of a low-status ethnic minority. We realize that to make an inner-city adult resident into a creative and imaginative component of the school-community relationship is to change the man and his community; and that to make a schoolman into a sensitive, receptive co-partner in the community-oriented modifications of a school is to change the administrator and his school. Our concentration is on a structural approach that could make positive changes along these lines emerge as realities.

We are concerned with one Minneapolis inner-city minority and the Minneapolis public schools. We are interested in attempting the development of a pilot program utilizing a different approach to change than Ocean Hill-Brownsville, or the common and conservative approach whereby persons are routed into the bottom of the existing structure to begin a long trek "upward." We are asking that Minneapolis Indian adults living in an area served by a Minneapolis junior high school and at least one feeder elementary school work directly with these schools and the Minneapolis public schools, to contractually define an important piece of the day-to-day operations of those schools for themselves. We wish to test the feasibility of a programmed setting in which the schools might do their jobs more satisfactorily if some daily requirements for student management were gradually assumed by the user community.

Specifically, we are suggesting that the feasibility of parent and adult management of "student discipline" be tested through the development of a mutually binding contractual relationship between an American Indian community and the school system serving it. In effect, such an arrangement might substantively change the authority structure of the school. It might mean, for example, that a principal would be more free to administer without the bothersome and time-consuming interruptions of his professional duties, caused by incessant disciplinary problems of various kinds. It might mean that teachers would be more free to teach and to relate humanly to children than is now possible. It might mean that parents would come to know the schools better, and thereby be in a more favorable position to influence the curricular, cultural, and ideological aspects of those schools. Furthermore -- we believe this to be the major payoff, at least initially, of such a project -- it might mean that the parents would come to know their own children better as students and as family members.

We understand that it is difficult enough today to "manage" young people in the suburbs, let alone in seamy inner-cities where major insititutions of any kind are usually alien to the populations they are attempting to serve. We do feel that the crisis of school-community relations is amenable to change if the change process actually brings the school-as-institution closer to the community it serves. We believe that the Ocean Hill-

Brownsville approach is not the answer; similarly, we believe that a wholesale "giving up" on minority adults in favor of increased manipulation of their children in non-familial institutions is not a satisfactory answer either. We are concerned that the institutions "bend" to fit the populations they serve, and we are concerned that the converse take place. To this end, we have hopes that the following rough guidelines might be a beginning point for the gradual assumption by a population of inner-city Minneapolis Indian citizens of a major aspect of the day-to-day activities of the schools which serve their children: the maintenance of "discipline."

For the purposes of this proposal, we will define "discipline" as a state of mind and as a state of conduct. We will define a "positive state of discipline" as that which does minimal violence to school, community, and person while making teaching, learning, and acting upon learning possible to the maximal extent. We recognize that teaching, learning and action take place in the community as well as the school. (Our hope is that positive discipline would apply to all members of the school and community, whether they are formal teachers and learners in the bureaucratic sense, or whether they are teachers and learners of any background outside the classroom.) We believe that the quality of teaching and learning suffers, whether that teaching be in the home, the classroom or on the streets, wherever indifference, lack of understanding, or disrespect for the rights and privileges of others negatively intervene. Thus, while we believe that it is possible for an insensitive teacher to interrupt seriously the learning of a minority child both inside and outside the classroom, we also believe that it is possible in many ways for an indifferent or ignorant parent to seriously damage the learning potential of his own children. Our intention, therefore, in the use of the word "discipline" in this expanded context, is to convey as broadly as we can the mutual school-community responsibilities for developing mutually effective kinds of teaching and learning in humane, supportive, and responsible school-community settings.

The Proposal

A. That one junior high school (perhaps Bryant) and one feeder elementary school be identified in south Minneapolis as sites for this experiment.

B. That these schools begin to engage in a process of mutually informative dialogue with Indian adults from the Southside when such an adult group is constituted.

C. That this adult group of Indian people be constituted by the Indian Education Advisory Committee to the Minneapolis public schools under those organizational guidelines it feels are most appropriate.

D. That a pilot time schedule of two calendar years, commencing September 1970 and extending until August 31, 1972 be established for the duration of the pilot project.

E. That the goal of the pilot project, in quasi-legal terminology, be the development of a mutually binding contract between the duly constituted group of Indian adults and the schools named, together with their organizational parent, the Minneapolis public schools.

F. That the development of this contract be as unhurried and as thorough as possible, with the understanding that the separate parties to the development of the contract be allowed as many escape clauses as necessary, owing to the pilot nature of the project and to the possibility of any harm being brought to the user community. In the past, Indians have suffered greatly from devastating pressures to change against their desires.

G. That as the contract develops and as small test versions of the principles and techniques to be embodied in the larger contract are tried out, sufficient funds for such purposes as babysitting, taxi fares, bus fares, and part-time personnel be made available for the Indian parents involved in the development of the pilot project.

H. That the pilot project, from the beginning, be carefully scrutinized by a school-community board of evaluation having in its employ the services of trained ethnic and non-ethnic consultants, and that at least one half-time quality research person be retained from the duration of the pilot program.

I. That this board of evaluation, in close communication with the Indian parental group and the schools, submit a quarterly report to the Advisory Committee and to the Minneapolis public schools commencing 90 days after the inception of the pilot program and each 90 days thereafter, culminating in a Final Report within 90 days of the close of the entire pilot project, whether that termination date be the proposed two years or some other time.

J. That the Minneapolis public schools and all other interested parties be willing to abide by the direct and indirect implications of the experiences shared in the pilot project.

K. That the schools and the Indian community be willing to help make structural and other changes in school and community if such changes seem warranted by the findings of the pilot project.

L. That both parties recognize that the best interests of Indian children must be the first consideration in any acceptance or rejection of implications derived from the project.

THE ALIENATION, COMMITMENT AND INDIFFERENCE OF MINNEAPOLIS JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL INDIAN STUDENTS: A SECOND PROBLEM SCHOOL REPORT

Introduction

In the late spring of 1969, the Training Center for Community Programs, University of Minnesota, conducted reserch in several Twin Cities public schools as a function of its role in the National Study of American Indian Education.

One of these schools was Scofield (pseudonym) Junior High School, a school located directly in the southern inner-city Indian ghetto area of Minneapolis, Minnesota. At the time of the survey, 168 Indian children were enrolled in Scofield, constituting 19.8 percent of the total Scofield student population. In Minneapolis at that time, Indian students numbered 1,490 in the total school system; a proportion of 2.1 percent in the total Minneapolis student population.

Scofield Junior High School has been of special interest to the National Study of American Indian Education. The title of this report indicates some of the dynamics of the Scofield Junior High School Indian population that made this particular population of Indian students singular among the many populations of Indian students researched by the National Study. An excerpt from the National Study of American Indian Education Research Papers discusses the relationship of self-esteem to the personal and social adjustment of Minneapolis American Indian junior high school students and compares it to the adjustment of Indian youth in other urban areas. It emphasizes the precarious relationship between Indian youth and the Minneapolis Public Schools, and documents communications problems which occur between Indian people, the schools, and other Minneapolis institutions. On the basis of truancy and incorrigibility, the Minneapolis Public Schools tends to initiate a high percentage of court actions taken against Indian youth. The truancy rate for Indian students at Scofield Junior High School has been alarmingly high; on the average, eighth grade students missed 25 percent of the days school was in session in 1969.

In order to properly set the stage for this University of Minnesota report on the education of urban Indian children

in a particular Minneapolis school, we review a portion of one of the University of Chicago reports written by Phillip Dreyer. We consider Dreyer's comparative analysis of the Scofield Junior High School Indian children a useful beginning to this report.

> We have noted that the urban Indian students rated Indian culture much more favorably than White culture. They rated the School and Teachers very low. . . . Upon examination, we found that the low scores of the urban Indians were produced mainly by the pupils in School C, a junior high school in Minneapolis. Accordingly, we looked into this situation to see whether we could learn something from it.
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> School C and another junior high school in Minneapolis were scenes of much hostility among students and between students and teachers in the period from 1968 to 1970, when this study was made. The schools both had a minority group of about 20 percent Indian pupils, and another minority group of black pupils. There was a good deal of hostility between these groups.
>
> There was also a considerable amount of hostility of Indian pupils toward teachers. Students in their interviews frequently singled out teachers by name as ones they thought were prejudiced against Indian pupils. Teachers were asked to comment on the attitudes of a random list of Indian pupils, and they said with respect to the majority on this list that they were "hostile" toward the school and toward teachers. They also mentioned certain ones as having called them names in public and having defied them. Yet the teachers of School C, on the attitude questionnaire to which teachers from all schools in the study responded, were more favorably disposed toward Indian pupils and less authoritarian than the other teachers in the Minnesota-Wisconsin area.

Thus, from the Student Inventories, from Teacher Inventories, and from public knowledge, School C presented an unusual degree of conflict and hostility of Indian pupils toward the school and toward teachers.

The situation of Indian adults in Minneapolis is one of greater militancy and greater protest against the Establishment than was true of any other community in the study. The Minneapolis Indian group is known to be more militant than any other large city Indian group in recent years. Thus the children may be expected to have heard a good deal of hostile talk and to have observed a good deal of militance on the part of their parents. This critical attitude of Indian parents showed clearly in the interviews conducted by the Study with Minneapolis Indian parents. On the scale which measured the extent to which the parent perceived the school as meeting the needs of his child, the most frequent rating by the 800 parents from the 30 communities in the study was 4, which indicated mild approval. But 75 percent of the School C parent respondents were below 4, expressing degrees of disapproval ranging from mild to extreme. On the scale measuring the parent's opinion of his child's teacher's performance, the most frequent score was 5, indicating definite approval. But 55 percent of School C parents rated below 4, indicating definite disapproval of the teacher's performance. By comparison, only 15 percent of the sample of Chicago Indian parents scored below 4 on thi scale. On the scale of school administration, the most frequent scores from the 800 parents were 4 or 5. School C had 65 percent below 4, indicating definite disapproval of the school administration.

Observation of this school in comparison with other urban schools by staff members of the Study did not disclose any striking difference visible to neutral observers, except the greater hostility of the students in School C.

Thus it appears that the junior high school pupils to some extent were reflecting attitudes of the adult Indian community toward the institutions of Minneapolis.

The most reliable measure we have of the students' attitude is the Semantic Differential, which gave the following average scores for School C compared with Chicago Indian pupils. (The lower score indicates a more favorable attitude.)

	Teachers	White Culture	Indian Culture
School C	3.47	3.34	1.93
Chicago	2.07	2.20	1.90

Here we see that the School C students are much less favorable to Teachers and to the White culture than they are to Indian culture, and that they differ from the Chicago Indian students by being more negative to Teachers and White culture.

Reading the interviews with the School C students reveals a considerable degree of ambivalence on the part of the Indian pupils toward the life they lead in the city. Nearly all of them reported that they travel frequently (by bus or automobile) to the lake country or the Indian reservations where their grandparents or aunts and uncles are today. Weekly or monthly visits are the rule, and junior high school youth often make these trips alone. Some quotations from these interviews illustrate the ambivalence of some students, and the actual preference of others for the "Indian way." The most hostile girl (a Chippewa) says, of the lake area where her forbears lived, "I like it and I would like to stay there." A boy says, "I go up almost every weekend to visit my grandfather. I like to hunt and fish and the dog can run free." The most frequent kind of comment is this from a girl, "I like it there. You can do almost anything you want. But I wouldn't want to stay there all the time. I like the city and have friends here." A rare comment came from a boy. "I'd rather live down here because some of the adults are funny up there and it's always quiet and a little restricted."

When we consider that the pupils of School C were all in the age range 12 to 15, it is not strange that there should be a general romantic feeling about the woods and the lakes and the free life, especially on the part of the boys. It is surprising that the girls of School C are somewhat more negative to the school than the boys are, as measured by the Semantic Differential.

Apparently, very few of these young people of either sex can see themselves growing up into a satisfactory future through achievement in school. Most of their parents have not done so, and cannot set them an example of rewards gained from schooling. Just at present their parents are actively dissatisfied with employment and housing in Minneapolis, and are setting an example of protest against White institutions.

Parents and students alike at School C are strongly in favor of studying Indian culture. The schools are moving in that direction. It will be interesting to see whether this has any influence on the attitudes of Indian students toward education and life in the city. (Emphasis added)

As a further background element to this report on the characteristics of Scofield Junior High School Indian students in Minneapolis, Minnesota, it may also be useful to review materials taken from an earlier Training Center report written by G. William Craig and others. In this report, Mr. Craig and his associates attempt to analyze in broad terms the generational life style characteristics of Indian persons in urban areas. Mr. Craig and his associates pay special attention to the birth-place of Indian persons (whether on the reservation or in the city), and several types of orientation (favorable or unfavorable) to both of these places. Mr. Craig's first generation is composed of Indians who were born and raised on a reservation, and have lived in Minneapolis for less than five years:

> There average age is fifty or more and their value systems and life-styles are dominated by Indian beliefs and cultural traits, and are rejuvenated by frequent trips to the reservation, often including their children. Often after three or four years of urban living, they

> return to the reservation. Most of the people in this group tend to become lonesome for the familiar sights of home, old friends, and familier experiences. They find that life in the city and its alien culture is a traumatic experience, and exists across an inter-cultural gulf separating two ways of life too different to join together.

Mr. Criag and his associates identify the second generation Indians who were born on reservations and who migrated to Minneapolis in middle or late adolescence. Through service in the armed forces, many of these Indians have been exposed to wider parts of the world. Craig and his associates feel that three-fourths of this population retain some degree of reservation contact (such as friendly visits, attending tribal elections, hunting, harvesting wild rice, etc.).

> Although members of this group will live most of their lives in the city, they still retain certain Indian values and culture traits..... Many of them harbor indifference and resentment towards the urban society about them. They prefer to live in communities or areas that are predominantly Indian in population. They would rather shop in stores that are frequented by other Indians, and they like to engage in social behavior in bars, neighborhood houses, parks and playgrounds, churches, and other places where many Indians also tend to gather. Culturally, this group has one foot in the reservation and one foot in the urban community. This position leads, in many cases, to frustration and defensiveness because of the dual residency. Many such persons feel neither Indian nor white. They are afflicted by poor employment habits, menial types of employment, direct and subtle discrimination, lack of familiarity with the major institutions of the urban society, and a profitless relationship with major urban institutions that have formal responsibilities for serving urban Indians.

The third generation of Indians, according to Craig and his associates, is composed of urban youth who were born and raised in Minneapolis. These are the alienated youth upon which, to some extent, this report is focussed.

This group may be the most confused of all urban Indians. They do not have the Indian or reservation background; they have little or no cultural acquisitions comparable to the two older groups; they are unable to speak or understand the Indian language when spoken by others; they usually must attend public schools in which textbooks and teacher behavior either ignore the Indian heritage or misrepresent it; they come into daily contact with mass media which tend to stereotype Indians negatively, both past and present. These young people experience the greatest cross-cultural pressures and identity crises of all. Some turn away from their own families only to be confused further by rejections from white society. Their understanding of the marginal nature of their identity is incomplete and in some cases nonexistent.

As if to emphasize the importance of generational categories two and three above, data gathered from the Training Center for Community Programs research project in Scofield Junior High School demonstrate the wide range of responses to the reservation and urban settings. These data are presented at the beginning of this report because they appear to indicate in convincing fashion some of the intercultural affinities and confusions typical of junior high school Indian children in Minneapolis, and perhaps elsewhere.

Tentative Conclusions

While the Training Center for Community Programs final report on the education of Indian children in Minneapolis, Minnesota is to be written from a variety of interim reports, it is possible to advance some tentative conclusions and accompanying recommendations for these children based upon the data analyzed in this report. These tentative conclusions and recommendations will be refined and amplified in the final report publication.

1. At the time these data were gathered, Scofield Junior High School Indian students appeared to be higher in alienation and indifference towards school than comparable student groups researched in Chicago and elsewhere.

2. Again and again, the explicit and implicit "message" of much of the data in this report seems to point toward inadequate counseling and related services for Indian students. Nowhere, perhaps, is this more important than in two areas: the general orientation toward school expressed in negative ways by many Indian students; and the often poor or non-existent capability to articulate the probable relationships between completion of formal education and job market success. (It should not be suggested, however, that poor counseling and related factors that contribute to such problems are operating in a vacuum -- many persons of Indian heritage, young and old, are quite differently oriented to "the job market" than other peoples.)

3. It is possible that career education counseling or the equivalent might assist in the solution of what appear to be counseling difficulties at Scofield. It is even possible that, since these data were gathered in the spring of 1969, such changes have already been made. The final report on the education of Minneapolis Indian children will provide updated information on this question.

4. From the data reviewed in this report, it is often difficult to ascertain what, if any, positive influence was being exerted by the Indian Upward Bound Program. The Indian Upward Bound Program at Scofield Junior High School was (and still is) a most unique program of the United States Office of Education: instead of focussing upon high school children, Indian Upward Bound focussed upon junior high school children; instead of university-controlled operations, Indian Upward Bound operated under a community board. There were also other differences from standard programs. The final report will treat the nature of Indian Upward Bound and its relationship to the Scofield Junior High School in detail.

5. The extra-curricular interests of Scofield Junior High School Indian children appeared to be low. Generally speaking, other research has shown this to be the case in schools where Indian students are a minority group. Various means exist to begin rectifying such conditions, among them strengthening and increasing the number of out-of-school community operations, such as Indian teen centers and the like.

6. The approach to Scofield Junior High School taken by most Indian students was negative to slightly positive. This finding, checked and double checked by two research teams using different and similar data, isolates Scofield Junior High School at the time of data gathering as the most unique school of its type in the total sample. Correctly, we believe, University of Chicago analysts have attributed such findings as high alienation scores and the like at Scofield to community-related conditions. Other Training Center reports concentrate on these conditions, and the final report on the education of Indian children in Minneapolis will amplify earlier reports.

7. The usual rather vague, and essentially surface importances of Indian history, culture, language and the like were in abundant evidence in the responses to interviews and questionnaires by Scofield Junior High School Indian children. This finding, not typical in other situations where Indian children are in a minority school position, should be examined for its situation-related and intrinsic importances where curricular changes and extra-curricular activities are concerned. Especially important in the rather vapid responses to the importance of Indian-related cultural matters was an equal vagueness as to suggestions from students about where, when and how Indian cultural elements might be included in school-related activities.

THE TEACHERS OF MINNEAPOLIS JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL INDIAN CHILDREN: A SECOND "PROBLEM SCHOOL"

Introduction

In the late spring of 1969, the Training Center for Community Programs, University of Minnesota, conducted research in several Twin Cities public schools as a function of its role in the National Study of Indian education.

One of these schools was Scofield (pseudonym) Junior High School, a school located directly within the southern inner-city Indian ghetto area in Minneapolis. At the time of the survey, 168 Indian children were enrolled in Scofield, constituting 19.8 percentage of the total Scofield student population. In Minneapolis at that time, Indian students numbered 1,490 in the total school system; a proportion of 2.1 percent in the total Minneapolis student population.

The report which follows concentrates upon twenty-three teachers who were interviewed and who completed questionnaires, both related to the National Study. At the time of data gathering and beyond, Scofield Junior High School was considered by several observers to be a locus of high Indian student alienation toward Scofield itself and, sometimes, toward other students and persons. Since the time the data on teachers discussed in this report were gathered, analysis of data by the University of Chicago National Study team has empirically verified high Indian student alienation at Scofield. This particular report does not seek to discuss that finding and the related assumptions of others directly; it attempts rather to discuss teacher data and leave the presentation and analysis of Scofield Indian student data to a second report.

Tentative Conclusions and Recommendations

Although differing opinions on the parts of teachers were expressed toward such crucial questions as the nature of curricula, integration or separation of white and Indian people and their values, and many other problematic areas, Scofield's junior high school teachers seemed very well informed about Indian students.

It is, of course, necessary to ask whether this information was pertinent to the tasks of the school, which could be interpreted in many ways by different participants and observers. Above all, the interviews and questionnaires seemed to indicate a strong tendency on the part of Scofield teachers to understand and serve their Indian students. The 1969 data seemed to indicate a great deal of willingness to learn on the part of these teachers, and also displayed a fairly credible amount of detailed observation of intercultural behavior within the school. Much of this behavior was reported in terms that were neither scientific nor romantic; at other times, the behavior was reported in terms that were somewhat sentimental and, perhaps, somewhat filtered through one or another kind of "concern."

Our continual response while reviewing the data in this report was that the tremendously well-developed insight and understanding of some teachers, together with an apparent willingness on the part of these and many more professionals to engage in additional learning and self-improvement behavior regarding their responsibilities toward Indian students, were not being followed up in either case. As in the case of a smaller proportion of interviewed teachers at a St. Paul elementary school, our tentative conclusions are that the Minneapolis public school system (and specifically the school structure at Scofield at the time of the survey) did not provide for the means to operationalize existing professional and related skills within the school to more effectively meet the challenging requirements involved with the job of educating Indian children. A strong reliance on "experts", and sometimes poorly prepared community speakers in seminars and workshops is, we feel, correctly criticized by those teachers already prepared to bring much insight and expertise to their colleagues. Similarly, we feel that those other teachers who were not so well prepared were fully entitled to their critical responses to the seminars and workshops mentioned in the report. Members of the National Study team from the Training Center for Community Programs enjoyed many opportunities to directly observe these instructional activities.

Again and again in the Scofield teacher data one finds the frustration brought on by insufficiently flexible and appropriate school structures that often stand in the way of the effective utilization of existing professional energy and skills. While it is laudable to seek outside Federal

and state funds to provide increments in Indian education, and to seek "help" from various professionals and others within and without "the Indian community," it seems less than efficient and useful to overlook the existing school resources which might actually provide for many of the desired increments in the education of Indian children.

This report on the teachers of Indian children at Scofield (pseudonym) Junior High School In Minneapolis will be amplified upon in a final report on the formal education of Minneapolis Indian children. At this point, however, we wish to make one tentative recommendation based upon our findings in this report: where the tasks of educating Indians are concerned, it may be very helpful to school administrators and others to detect and fully operationalize on-the-shelf talent among teachers (and others) as a primary or at least equally emphasized activity in the search for new educational resources suitable to the problem at hand.

THE TEACHERS OF MINNEAPOLIS ELEMENTARY INDIAN CHILDREN: 1969 SURVEY RESULTS

Introduction

In the late spring of 1969, The Training Center for Community Programs, University of Minnesota, conducted research in several Twin Cities public schools as a function of its role in the National Study of American Indian Education.

One of these schools was Spencer (pseudonym) elementary, a school located somewhat to the south of the inner-city ghetto area in Minneapolis. At the time of the survey, 141 Indian children were enrolled in Spencer, constituting 22.4 percentage of the total student population. In Minneapolis at that time, Indian students numbered 1490 in the total school system; a proportion of 2.1% in the total Minneapolis student population.

While the report which follows concentrates essentially on a sample of teachers within Spencer Elementary school, some data were gathered on Indian children in the school prior to the sudden termination of the research project. The research project was ended because of alleged discomfort on the part of one Indian man who was possibly the spouse of one of the school's teachers. None of the teachers in Spencer Elementary school were Indian. Before the survey work had actually begun in Spencer Elementary, the principal had warned the researchers that "any disturbance" from the Indian community or the community at large could result in a termination of the research project without further question. He lived up to this prediction quite faithfully. The particular circumstances surrounding the dismissal of the research team in Spencer Elementary school will be discussed in the concluding report on the education of Minneapolis Indian children, to be published in mid-summer, 1971.

Tentative Conclusions

While it is too early to draw final conclusions and to offer specific recommendations for change regarding the structure and function of Spencer Elementary school, it is possible to offer some tentative statements at this time. The statements go beyond the school somewhat, since they also bear upon the relationship of Indian parents to the school situations faced by their elementary-age children. In a later report, we will deal more adequately with paren-

tal attitudes toward formal education, and in the concluding report on the formal education of Minneapolis Indian children we will offer some final conclusions as well as some specific recommendations for change. Such recommendations for change as are offered will no doubt include references to the Indian community itself. The following tentative statements may be made at this time:

1. Spencer teachers did not generally appear eager to accept their responsibilities as teachers, and to deliver their services to the Spencer Indian children with gusto and imagination.
2. Spencer teachers seemed to be cut off from adequate curricular inputs on American ethnic populations, including Indian Americans.
3. In-service existing capabilities and prospects for Spencer teachers seemed inadequate to meet their needs as teachers of young Indian children.
4. Related to this problem, Spencer teachers seemed reluctant to welcome the idea of rigorous in-serice training, particularly that which might be associated with colligate-level credit courses.
5. Spencer teachers showed a rather appalling separation from available materials on contemporary Indians in the United States, and particularly in the Twin Cities. It is to be assumed, however, that this problem should not be placed at the feet of the teachers alone.
6. Spencer teachers may have been correct in pointing out parental, home, and community "problems" that relate to the problems many Indian children face in school. However, lest these teachers be unfairly regarded as too critical, "racists", or worse, let it be suggested that in their current configuration American schools almost necessarily reward the children from certain kinds of homes and punish those from other types of homes. The parents, homes and communities of Spencer

Indian children are generally--despite how unfair the situation might be--not prepared to cope with the social expectations of school and classroom in Spencer Elementary school.

7. Some Spencer teachers pointed out the need for parental assistence that might aid in reducing the disjunction between the life style of the school and the life styles of many Indian families. This suggestion is an important one, we believe, yet one which tends to frighten already nervous administrators because of some of the implications involved (see final report).

8. It is important to note that many Spencer teachers have probably engaged in stereotyping Spencer Indian children. [It is equally important to note that, sometimes, the distinction between a valid generalization and an over-generalization (or stereotype) can be narrow. It is important not to deny to Spencer elementary teachers their right to perceive a situation in a particular way; it is mandatory, however, that the teachers provide adequate, humane services to Indian children in the context of the school.]

These tentative generalizations will be amplified further in later reports, particularly those dealing with Indian parents, Indian homes and what has been called "the Indian community."

THE ELEMENTARY EDUCATION OF ST. PAUL INDIAN CHILDREN: A STUDY OF ONE INNER-CITY SCHOOL

Introduction

In April and May of 1969, the University of Minnesota's Training Center for Community Programs carried out a portion of its responsibilities to the National Study of American Indian Education in the city of St. Paul, Minnesota. Indian children, white teachers and administrators, and certain "influential persons" were interviewed regarding the operations of one inner-city elementary school in St. Paul: Atwood (pseudonym).

At the time of the interviews and application of other instruments pertinent to the study, Atwood had 40 Indian students enrolled, constituting 4.6% percentage of the total student enrollment.* In the St. Paul school system as a whole, 346 Indian students constituted 0.68 percentage of the total student population. There were no Indian teachers at Atwood school during the time of data gathering.

This interim report attempts to detail some of the major findings of the Training Center's research in Atwood school. It is one of several reports on the education of Indian children in St. Paul; a final report on the education of St. Paul Indian children, together with recommendations for action, will be forthcoming in the midsummer of 1971.

Tentative Conclusions

While the Training Center for Community Program's final report on the education of Indian children in St. Paul, Minnesota is to be written from a variety of interim reports, it is possible to advance some tentative conclusions and accompanying recommendations for these children based upon the data analyzed in this report. These tentative conclusions and recommendations will be refined and amplified in the final report publication.

*A Sight-count was made in September which indicated that there were 40 Indian students. The school officials feel that there were about 80 Indian students at the end of the year. This would be 9.2% of the total student body.

1. The Indian school children attending Atwood (pseudonym) elementary school seem, for the most part, to like being in school.

2. Most of these children appear to want, either from the school or from other resources, to learn something about their native languages, histories and heritages.

3. The St. Paul Indian children seem to reflect conditions of home life in the same manner as their parents: home life for both children and adults seems to be generally supportive of education and the school itself, but short on skills to change the school and to better articulate parents and children to the school's authority structure.

4. Some of the rules of Atwood elementary school which did not appeal to Indian (and perhaps other) children were identified in the data. Most of these rules seemed to fall in the "Mickey Mouse" category; they were the kinds of regulations which prohibit movement and voluntariness.

5. All of the tentative generalizations above point to some fairly obvious beginning suggestions to school personnel: in the presence of a general good will toward education and Atwood Elementary school on the part of Indian children, it seems appropriate to consider relaxing certain day-to-day strictures common to the structure and function of the school, and to institute certain curricular changes which would 1) provide more Indian language, history and culture to the children; and 2) articulate the parents of the Atwood Indian children (and perhaps children themselves) to some of the bureaucratic operational features of the school.

THE TEACHERS OF ST. PAUL ELEMENTARY INDIAN CHILDREN:

1969 SURVEY RESULTS

Introduction

As an aspect of its responsibilities in the three-year National Study of American Indian Education supervised by Professor Robert Havighurst of the University of Chicago, The Training Center for Community Programs at the University of Minnesota conducted survey research work in Atwood (pseudonym) Elementary School in St. Paul, Minnesota. The basic data for this project were gathered during the Spring of 1969.

This report on the results of the survey work at Atwood is initial; a more complete report, based upon several interim reports focused on the formal education of St. Paul Indian children, will be published in mid-summer of 1971. The current report attempts to review data gathered through interview and by questionnaire from a sample of Atwood Elementary school teachers. At the conclusion of this report, some tentative generalizations and recommendations will be attempted, although the summary report on the formal education of St. Paul Indian children will elaborate these generalizations and recommendations considerably. In the summary report, every emphasis will be placed upon suggestions for various types of possible change in school and community in order to help create increments in the education of St. Paul's city Indian children.

Tentative Conclusions

From the data reviewed in this interim report on the formal education of St. Paul Indian children, a few tentative generalizations and recommendations seem possible. For a full treatment of such overview materials, the reader should consult the final report on the formal education of St. Paul Indian children to be published in mid-summer of 1971.

1. Atwood Elementary school teachers appeared to require additional assistance in preparing and employing in the classroom appropriate materials concerning American Indians.

2. Atwood Elementary school teachers seem, in some cases, to be ambivalent about whether to treat Indian children as culturally distinct persons

requiring special care, or whether to treat them as "any other children". A sensitive helping relationship between these teachers and certain specialists in the Indian community and elsewhere could help to resolve this apparent problem in terms of the specific characteristics of individual Indian children.

3. Atwood Elementary school teachers feel, in some cases, that the parental and home influences upon Indian elementary school children are less than advantages. Much additional work needs to be done by the school and other institutions to help coax into being an adequate definition of rules and division of labor between the Indian community and the school. In the summary report, means will be suggested to help accomplish these tasks.

4. Some of the Atwood elementary teachers appeared to be better informed about American Indian culture, and to greatly desire increased involvement in this area. These interested professionals might be contacted and the means provided to allow their greater involvement in the vital areas of concern to them.

5. The inter-cultural situation created for teachers by a multi-ethnic student body coming from different area communities suggests the need for comprehensive and sophisticated inservice training. At all times, should it be initiated, such inservice training should also be conceived, conducted, and evaluated by members of the respective ethnic communities.

URBAN INDIAN EDUCATION IN MINNEAPOLIS:
AN INTERIM ANALYSIS OF SURVEY MATERIALS
GATHERED FROM SCHOOL OFFICIALS AND
INFLUENTIAL PERSONS

Introduction

As a part of its responsibilities for conducting research under the auspices of the National Study of American Indian Education, the University of Minnesota's Training Center for Community Programs carried out survey research in two Minneapolis schools--an elementary school and a junior high. As a further aspect of its responsibilities, the Training Center was required to conduct questionnaire surveys and interviews with "influential persons" who were active in the context of formal education in Minneapolis.

This interim report initially analyzes the data obtained by the questionnaires and interviews conducted with influential persons important to formal education functions in Minneapolis. At the time when data gathering was underway for this purpose (Spring, 1969), there was much tumult in the air over whether urban Indian education programs in the Twin Cities should be conducted inter-racially or "by Indians for Indians". Some of the data which will be presented in the pages that follow directly and indirectly reflect the tremendously important issue--then and now--of the control of Indian education. Then and now, the question essentially boiled down to this: should formal public (and other) systems of education relinquish control over the education of Indian children to the "Indian Community"? There are many other ways of stating the question, of course, but in many ways this vernacular way of putting the issue is the one probably closest to the emotional heart of the matter, since the "Indian community" is so very often slighted as the "proper" locus for control of all Indian matters. For harried school officials in Minneapolis, the issue of the locus of control over Indian education had reached the proportions of frequent demands for "all Indian" schools -- to include the full range of formal education from kindergarten through high school.

This interim report seeks to explore in detail the responses of influential persons in Minneapolis to many issues surrounding the education of the city's Indian children. Essential to most of the issues, even if very subtle much of the time, is the question of legitimacy in the provision for, conduct and evaluation of Indian-oriented formal education enterprises.

Tentative Conclusions

As this interim report on the education of Minneapolis Indian children has attempted to point out time and again, a central difficulty with the controlling elements of Indian education appears to be a coordinated philosophy of Indian education. A second major problem seems to be an inability to put together workable programs emanating from any appropriate philosophic base useful to the adequate education of Minneapolis Indian children.

Since this report has attempted to indicate the nature of these problems (and others) at many points, we will not belabor them in this interim report. Suffice to say that in the concluding report on the formal education of Minneapolis Indian children, to be published in mid-1971, certain philosophical and programatic dilemmas will be investigated in detail as these relate to the problems of educating Indian children. Interested readers are invited to consult, prior to the release of that concluding report, a document prepared earlier by the Training Center for Community Programs. This document deals somewhat extensively, but in an exploratory fashion, with the problems we have been mentioning here and with some possible alternatives to the continued distress of all concerned with offering the best formal education to Indian children. (See Hammond, Judy, I. Karon Sherarts, Richard G. Woods, and Arthur M. Harkins: Junior High Indian Children in Minneapolis: A Study of One Problem School. Minneapolis: Training Center for Community Programs, University of Minnesota. May, 1970.)

ATTITUDES OF ST. PAUL INDIAN PARENTS AND INFLUENTIAL PERSONS TOWARD FORMAL EDUCATION

Introduction

In April, 1969 research was begun in the Atwood (pseudonym) elementary school in the St. Paul Public School System.

This report constitutes one part of the results obtained from the Atwood research project. Several more interim reports on the Atwood school system will be published prior to release of an overview study of Indian education in St. Paul. This overview study will be based upon data collected in the 1968 National Study research conducted by the University of Minnesota, as well as upon materials collected to mid-summer, 1971. (A portion of the latter materials were obtained by field work; the remainder through other forms of data collection.)

At the time of the National Study interviewing in Atwood elementary school, there was much tension in the Twin Cities over the activities of Indian militant groups. This tension was felt acutely by many institutions, but particularly by public school systems. One of the University of Minnesota interviewers who began working in the Atwood school was released from her duties in part because of her inattention to the tensions caused by Indian activism, and because of her unfortunate interviewing style. We are most grateful to the Minneapolis League of Women Voters for providing several trained interviewers who had had previous experience with the Indian communities of Minneapolis-St. Paul. These interviewers conducted their work with sensitivity and efficiency and no more difficulties were encountered in the Atwood interviewing phase of the National Study.

Parental interviews in the St. Paul Indian community were conducted by a team consisting of one Indian man in his late thirties, and one white student in her early twenties. This team also conducted parental interviews in the Minneapolis Indian community, and was considered by observers to be a highly competent unit. The parental interviews summarized in this interim report should adequately document the competence of this intercultural interviewing team.

At the time of the Atwood interviews (April-May, 1969), Atwood Elementary School held approximately 40 Indian students who constituted 4.6 percent of the entire school population. At the time of the Atwood research it was estimated that the total St. Paul Indian student population was 346, or 0.68 percent of the total school population. The total Indian population of the St. Paul community was estimated at an average of 3,000 during 1963.

Tentative Conclusions

Since the current report constitutes an interim summary of the Atwood Elementary school data collected by the University of Minnesota as part of its National Study of American Indian Education responsibilities, the tentative conclusions which follow are considered only a beginning. A Final Report on St. Paul American Indian Education will be forthcoming in mid-1971, and will establish conclusions from a variety of reports on St. Paul Indian Education and other activities. From the data which are contained in this report, it is possible to attempt the following tentative generalizations:

1. St. Paul urban Indian parents are far better informed about certain aspects of formal education structure and function than many observers had previously admitted.

2. A clear gap exists between the thinking of influential persons toward the bureaucratic aspects of Atwood Elementary School and that of the majority of St. Paul Indian parents toward the structure of the school.

3. The above two points strongly suggest that much opportunity exists to vastly enhance the skills of St. Paul Indian parents where dealing effectively with the school is concerned; such increments could be greatly augmented by the obvious enthusiasim for formal education of most of the interviewed parents.

4. At least for the elementary school level, St. Paul Indian parental responses show far different "Indian" childrearing styles than the bulk of the literature would suggest. Such styles as are indicated by the data contained in this report may only apply to younger children, but should

be further examined for their importance during later school years. (This is an especially intriguing possibility where the onset of adolescence is concerned.)

5. Clearly, from the viewpoint of St. Paul Indian parents, Indian history and culture (and perhaps language) should be taught in the schools. Atwood influential persons might take account of this interest in many practical ways.

6. The grading system and the style of teaching ("motherliness" was one of the styles approved by St. Paul Indian parents) should both be examined in light of possible policy and stylistic changes. Such changes would be distinctly in tune with the current development of interest in the ungraded "informal" elementary school.

7. Racial concerns obviously affect the St. Paul Indian parents whose children attend Atwood Elementary School. The Atwood influential persons could perhaps make positive changes in this area through bringing together some of the parents of affected groups in the interest of mutual enlightenment and other change possibilities.

8. Since most St. Paul Indian parents who have children attending Atwood feel powerless or nearly powerless in helping to control the school, and while most Indian parents want the "professionals" to run Atwood, it seems likely that a program of public information directed to the Indian community might profitably be undertaken. Such a program would stress the relationship of Atwood Elementary School to the St. Paul School Board, to the State Department of Education, and to other groups at "lower levels" which have influence upon the school's operations.

THE ATTITUDES OF MINNEAPOLIS INDIAN PARENTS TOWARD FORMAL EDUCATION

Summary and Tentative Conclusions

The following summary observations and tentative conclusions may be drawn from the data contained in this report.

1. Minneapolis Indian parents tend to regard Spencer and Scofield schools very differently: Spencer is generally regarded as adequate while Scofield is much criticized for several reasons.
2. All interviewed Indian parents wanted their children to learn more about tribal culture, but language training generally was treated with lukewarm interest.
3. Minneapolis Indian parents were strongly opinionated about supposed positive relationships between school completion and job acquisition, but were convinced that school completion would have no effect on their childrens' life styles.
4. Minneapolis Indian parents generally were ignorant about school functions, felt uninvolved with the schools, and felt powerless to help control the schools.
5. Most Indian parents felt reasonably positive about the performance of administrative and teacher staff in the two Minneapolis schools involved in the study.
6. Most interviewed Indian parents seemed moderately involved with their children in the context of family life.
7. About one-half of the Minneapolis Indian parents knew of adult education programs offered by the Minneapolis public schools.
8. Citing the likelihood of chaos or inadequate community qualifications, about two in five of these parents thought that control of the schools should be in the hands of professional educators. Roughly one-fifth to one half of the various samples felt that parents and professionals should share in the educational decision-making.

AN EXAMINATION OF THE 1968-1969 URBAN INDIAN HEARINGS HELD BY THE NATIONAL COUNCIL ON INDIAN OPPORTUNITY

PART I: EDUCATION

Introduction

This report deals with the public testimony delivered before the National Council on Indian Opportunity during its 1968 - 1969 visits to five major cities -- Los Angeles, Dallas, Minneapolis-St. Paul, San Francisco, and Phoenix. These visits were for the purpose of holding hearings about the problems of urban Indians with a view toward stimulating remedial federal government and local community action.

The NCIO came into being in March, 1968 by Presidential Executive Order Number 11399. Chaired by the Vice-President of the United States, its cabinet members were designated as the Secretaries of Interior; Agriculture; Commerce; Labor; Health, Education, and Welfare; Housing and Urban Development; and the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity. The six appointed Indian members of the Council were:

Wendell Chino, Mescalero Apache, President of the National Congress of American Indians

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William Hensley, Alaska Native, Representative of Alaska State Legislature

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Raymond Nakai, Navajo, Chairman of the Navajo Tribal Council

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The NCIO appointed Mrs. La Donna Harris to chair an inquiry into the conditions of life for urban Indians. In each metropolitan area selected, resident Indians and representatives of government or social agencies that deal with Indians were invited to attend and discuss problems in the areas of education, housing, employment, recreation, social services and justice.

The sequence of the hearings was as follows:

Los Angeles, California	December 16-17,1968
Dallas, Texas	February 13-14, 1969
Minneapolis-St. Paul, Minnesota	March 18-19, 1969
San Francisco, California	April 11-12, 1969
Phoenix, Arizona	April 17-18, 1969

The five volumes which contain the testimony presented in the hearings provided no indication of the rationale for selecting these particular cities. Los Angeles, of course, contains the largest urban Indian concentration in the United States, and may have been selected for that reason. The smaller (and apparently more widely dispersed) Indian population of San Francisco provides some contrast, but it seems curious that other cities, such as Chicago (with its variety of woodlands Indians), Baltimore (with its Lumbees) or New York City (with its Mohawks) were ignored in favor of another California city and in favor of two southwestern choices - Dallas and Phoenix. Of course, the heavy concentration of total (rural and urban) Indian population in the Southwestern and Western states may have occasioned pressures to make the selections which occurred. The volumes also do not make clear the rationale for selecting the Indian and non-Indian representatives of the five cities to appear before the Committee. There is some indication from the testimony that, as one might expect, the more prominent and articulate Indian people tended to be represented rather than those who may have been more typical of urban Indians as a whole. Also, the attendance at the hearings of social service agency and city government representatives, in general, was poor.

This report will organize the urban Indian concerns and characteristics evidenced during the hearings which had to do with education. The attempt has been to deliberately include much in the way of direct quotations from Indian witnesses. This meant that inevitable decisions had to be made about the selection of materials which resulted in the omission of much of the direct testimony in the five large volumes of the hearings. Of course, transcripts of hearings can be faulted because they lack such subtleties as voice inflection, audience-witness interaction, and points of verbal emphasis during prolonged testimony. In addition, there were off-the-record discussions in Phoenix which conceivably could have contained more important material than that which was recorded.

It should be noted (as a matter of fact and not apology) that the two authors of this report are non-Indian.

Some Final Observations

Occasional reference has been made here to the education and training portions of the BIA Employment Assistance ("relocation") and adult vocational training programs. Since there were many Indian witnesses who commented about the various aspects of these programs, a separate report will deal with their views.

Detailed action recommendations for Indian education were submitted to the Committee by a representative of the California Indian Education Association in Los Angeles. Because they seem to represent the most carefully-considered and comprehensive recommendations advanced by any Indian group during the hearings, they are reproduced in their entirety in the Appendix.

Some observations may be drawn from the material presented in this report:

1) Many Indian witnesses indicated that they valued education for a variety of reasons. The economic overtones in much of the expressed desire for education were not always explicit, although general goals such as "strengthening the economic position" and "overcoming poverty" were cited. It was not very clear from the comments of most witnesses just how education could lead to economic improvement of urban Indians, except by their individual attachment to a fundamentally non-Indian labor force and that, presumably, in a way that would result in the differential compensation of Indian people according to such factors as their education, skills, experience, and place of employment. There was little indication that education was perceived by the Indians who testified as a way for Indian youth to achieve an economically rewarding life that would be separately and distinctly Indian; on the other hand, the obvious desire of some witnesses to achieve federally funded urban Indian education programs which would be controlled and staffed by Indians would provide, to the extent realized, immediate economic rewards to Indian adults. Perhaps such a focus on the immediate adult economic problem is responsible for the relative lack of specifics about what it is that Indian children should learn to be or to do. Preparation in Indian languages, history and culture; efforts to create a "positive image" of Indians; the training of teachers to be "sensitive" and knowledgeable about Indians, and other such institutional efforts may build feelings of acceptance and self-worth in Indian children, but they probably are not sufficient to prepare Indian children to survive

and prosper in the complex urban society of today or, what is more relevant, of tomorrow. It is to be hoped that Indians who are influential in Indian education do not allow themselves to focus so intently upon the past or upon guarding the present small gains in Indian controlled education that they lose sight of needs to build contemporary Indian models, needs to secure quality education for their children, and needs to understand the non-Indian, as well as the Indian, world.

2) Other Indian witnesses were concerned that education would be used as a colonialist tool, or that it would disrupt the simple social organization of Indian community.

The first objection seemed to underlie some of the efforts to control Indian education and to establish exclusively Indian programs. The control of education by Indians in a reservation setting would appear to be a realistic goal when contrasted with the Indian control of education in an urban environment, yet few of the Indians who were concerned with this issue seemed to recognize the difference. If the reservation model is held as an ideal, it is likely that many Indians will be disillusioned with the insufficiency of Indian control over education in the city. Broader public policy such as integration, the factor of unavoidable daily interaction with non-Indians, and competition from other ethnic and citizen groups may be expected to dilute total Indian control over the education of Indian children. Only an exclusively Indian schooling arrangement in the city could counter these influences, and that does not appear to be likely. Also, it might be unwise, if the goal of Indian education were to be the equipping of Indian children to do well in an interracial society.

The second objection -- that education creates social classes among urban Indians -- was cause for the expression of deeply felt opinions during the hearings. That education contributes to social stratification cannot be denied, yet there must be ways for a vital community to legitimate those members of the community with the skills acquired through education which are needed to achieve the common good. It may be a measure of the disintegration of some contemporary Indian communities from their aboriginal states that a major source of renewal, adaptation, and strength -- educated and competent members -- apparently have difficulty being accepted.

3) More Indian awareness of, and concern about, the critical problems of education was evident in Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Minneapolis than was the case in Phoenix and Dallas. It is possible to suggest two reasons for this difference, based in part upon the general picture revealed for each city during the hearings. First, the extent of Indian community organization in general seemed to be greater in the first three cities, and it may be that one result was a kind of mobilization of Indian public opinion on educational matters. Second, the social and political climate in the first three cities may have provided more liberal and humanistic reinforcement for Indian activity, including mobilization of activity and organization around Indian education.

4) There was much feeling that responsibility for failure in Indian education rested with the schools. While it is easy to understand the historic origins of resentment toward dominant society schools, and it is easy to believe that public schooling today is frequently not very adept, there is in the testimony of many Indians the sense that schools are expected to impart a large measure of the self-worth desired by Indians. It is doubtful if the schools can perform that task without a strong sense of group solidarity within Indian families and communities.

5) The scope of counseling services desired reflected the seriousness of the adaptation problems facing many Indian young people. It was clear that strictly academic and vocational counseling was not sufficient for many, and that counselors were desired who would be confidantes as well as persons to depend upon in emergencies. Given the scarcity of resources for public school counseling, the problem seems to be a serious one. Even the California Indian Education Association admonition that Indian parents should counsel and guide their children is less than satisfying, since many Indian parents apparently are not equipped to guide their children's development in the new surroundings of the city.

6) The shortage of economic resources for the education of Indians was clearly described in the hearings, and it also was apparent that Indian poverty was a large handicap in the education of Indian children. Strikingly, there was an absence of distinct pleas for elevating Indian family income through such means as direct subsidy or improved employment.

7) Valuable suggestions were made by some persons during the hearings for helping teachers to deal better with Indian children. There was divided opinion about the desirability of Indian teachers and exclusively Indian schools. Most of those who spoke about teachers seemed to feel that they could learn new ways to relate to Indian children, but the response of those school officials who appeared did not indicate that there was significant institutional mobilization to make it possible for the teachers to learn.

8) Indian involvement, control, participation, and self-determination in the educational process was a popular topic in San Francisco. Los Angeles, and Minneapolis, but not in Phoenix and Dallas. In some cases there were concrete plans to accomplish these goals, and in other instances there were Indian programs already operating which embodied such principles. Nevertheless, there was some testimony which appeared to be largely rhetorical. There was a heavy emphasis upon removing books that were disagreeable and replacing them with Indian publications and books written by Indians. The possible that this could lead to a kind of censorship and a pursuit of chauvinistic goals at the expense of accurate portrayal of historic and contemporary Indian life was not discussed. In general, apart from notions of achieving power and control in a broad sense, there was an absence of detail about the requisite social organization and the operational aspects of Indian involvement, control, participation, and self-determination.

Some Ancient History Revisited

It has long been a position of Training Center for Community Programs personnel that a multi-institutional approach to Indian education is required for many valid and pressing reasons. This is by no means a "new" approach to Indian education, as the following quotations from the 1928 "Meriam Report" clearly indicate:

> COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION. Indians do not as a rule have even the community participation involved in parent-teacher associations and school-board membership. Most superintendents of reservations and agency employees generally do not understand the fundamental educational principle that the Indian must learn to do things for himself, even if he makes the effort. They do not seem to realize that almost no change can be permanent that is imposed from above, that no "progress," so called, will persist and continue if it is not directly the result of the wish and effort of the individual himself. Indians are not fundamentally different from other people in this. Some of the housing plans that look most promising are likely to have this fatal defect: Unless the Indian wants the house himself, and works for it, his occupancy will be short-lived, or he will manage to have poorer health and home conditions than he had in a less imposing looking dwelling that actually grew out of his own limited needs and the community life. Long experience with housing conditions in cities has demonstrated this principle beyond the shadow of a doubt; it needs very much to be recognized in the Indian Service. The problem is to restore and recreate community life through the Indians' own activities, helped and guided only as far as is absolutely necessary by others.

One superintendent who does understand the educational principle of self-activity as applied to adults as well as children put it to the Indians of his jurisdiction in the following blunt fashion last spring, after a particularly severe snow storm had done considerable damage:

I am more firmly convinced than ever that the solution of the Indian's problem and the welfare of himself and his family rest almost entirely with

him. I want to put this fact before you as forcibly as possible; the Indian must accept his responsibility. He must meet the situation, must do the best he can with what he has. It is his only salvation. There is no other way out. Neither the efforts of the Indian office nor myself will avail, unless the Indian himself realizes the gravity of the situation and makes an effort.

That adult Indians will rise to appeals like this is evident from comments by Indians of the Blackfeet tribe on the "Five-Year Program"; "Bear Head spoke about not working but waiting," said one. "If we wait we get nowhere. Let us work and get somewhere." Said another: "I tell my children to do all they can for the Five-Year Program. It is all we have to fall back on. I urged my people this year to work hard to get stock to build root cellars. I advised them not to depend upon their big claim alone, but to work and supply their homes."

> The principle of participation applies to all Indian activities. It applies to plans for community centers, which are far more a matter of individual and group activity under competent leadership than of buildings. It applies to schemes for giving returned students special opportunities on the reservations, which will profit by frank discussion in which all concerned can take part. And one of the chief values of the corporate plan for managing tribal affairs discussed elsewhere in this report is the training it would afford for undertaking responsibility in business and other matters. [32]

Many previous Training Center Reports on American Indians have directly and indirectly supported the thrust of these ancient quoted paragraphs both through research approaches and conclusions drawn from research. A forthcoming Doubleday book by A.M. Harkins, R.G. Woods, and I.K. Sherarts (Indian Americans: The Effects of Urban Migration) will more fully treat urban Indian populations in this manner.

Some Recommendations

In the meantime, we offer the following recommendations based upon the research reviewed in this document:

1. Indian students may be taught Indian crafts, the school staff may be taught about Indian values, and Indian parents may be taught about Indian life in the contemporary world.

2. Indian courses may be taught and Indian faculty should be acceptable for these courses.

3. Alternatives to the grouping of Indian children might be explored.

4. All school populations might learn more about other Indians, including the ways in which these Indians educate their children.

5. It might be tentatively assumed by all school populations that Indian children wish to be approved by others, including authority figures.

6. Ways might be found to further educate <u>all</u> the school populations about the functioning of that school.

7. <u>Functional</u> ways might be sought to articulate Indian people with the schools.

8. The functional definition of "fairness" among the school populations should be investigated, with an eye to improving Indian education.

9. Definite responsibility for the quality of Indian education might be affixed to school staff, with appropriate rewards and punishments.

10. <u>Active</u> attention might be given to defining what is a "good education" for Indian students.

11. The <u>rights</u> of all population groups should be defined in terms of the provisions of an adequate Indian education ideology.

12. Further investigation about the usefullness of brown, white, red and black curricula should be undertaken by <u>all</u> populations which are interested in Indian education.

13. Attempts should be made by school staff to actualize the parental feeling that parents should be more responsible for the behavior of their children.

14. Further dialogue should take place among school populations concerning the relationship of education to "good jobs".

15. Greater stress should be placed upon the relationship of a high school education to collegiate education, and this relationship should be stressed in as positive a light as possible.

16. Attempts should be made to further develop the general agreement that Indian students should be responsible for their school behavior.

17. The complicated question of Indian identity for current students and their probable offspring should be the subject of continuing year-long seminars on the human meanings of education from identification standpoints.

18. Attempts should be made, in the context of seminars and other questioning sessions, to further investigate the possibilities of an apparent Indian student desire to have their parents more actively structure educational requirements.

19. Indian students apparently wish to attend classes, and the implications of this apparent wish should be explored in the context of rule modifications.

20. Generation gap questions between Indian parents and their offspring should be explored in a variety of discussion and educational contexts, and those members of the several school populations wishing to learn more about Indian young people should be given the opportunity to do so.

21. Those wishing to serve on committees considering Indian education goals should be encouraged to do so, and the committees should be set up immediately, probably on an ad hoc basis.

22. The whole question of positive reciprocity between Indian students and their teachers should be investigated, perhaps with an eye to the eventual dismissal of certain teachers if they cannot come to regard their responsibilities in a mutally supportive manner between Indian students and themselves.

23. The question of reciprocity between school personnel and Indian parents should be investigated, with the possible introduction of punishments and dismissal for administrators and teachers unwilling to treat Indian parents in a mutually cooperative, human manner after the development of a jointly approved trade-off system.

24. The entire area of reciprocity between formally licensed school personnel and Indian students and parents should be investigated, and immediate attempts should be made to develop training programs and "human potential" seminars stressing the importance of positive self-concept, and the relationship of positive self concept to a humanly rewarding interaction environment.

Finally, to expand considerably this list of suggestions we offer a concise identification of Indian education problems and meliorations drawn verbatim from one in a series of public documents recently produced by the National Council on Indian Opportunity.

The documents dealt with the public testimony delivered before the National Council on Indian Opportunity during its 1968 - 1969 visits to five major cities -- Los Angeles, Dallas, Minneapolis-St. Paul, San Francisco, and Phoenix. These visits were for the purpose of holding hearings about the problems of urban Indians with a view toward stimulation remedial federal government and local community action.

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San Francisco, California	April 11-12, 1969
Phoenix, Arizona	April 17-18, 1969

The five volumes which contain the testimony presented in the hearings provided no indication of the rationale for selecting these particular cities. Los Angeles, of course, contains the largest urban Indian concentration in the United States, and may have been selected for that reason. The smaller (and apparently more widely dispersed) Indian population of San Francisco provides some contrast, but it seems curious that other cities, such as Chicago (with its variety of woodlands Indian), Baltimore (with its Lumbees) or New York City (with its Mohawks) were ignored in favor of another California city and in favor of two southwestern choices - Dallas and Phoenix. Of course, the heavy concentration of <u>total</u> (rural and urban) Indian population in the Southwestern and Western states may have occasioned pressures to make the selections which occurred. The volumes also do not make clear the rationale for selecting the Indian and non-Indian representatives of the five cities to appear before the Committee. There is some indication from the testimony that, as one might expect, the more

prominent and articulate Indian people tended to be represented rather than those who may have been more typical of urban Indians as a whole. Also, the attendance at the hearings of social service agency and city government representatives, in general, was poor.

The recent Training Center for Community Programs Report organized the urban Indian concerns and characteristics evidenced during the hearings which had to do with education (An Examination of the 1968-1969 Urban Indian Hearings Held by the National Council on Indian Opportunity, Part I: Education). The attempt was to deliberately include much in the way of direct quotations from Indian witnesses. This meant that inevitable decisions had to be made about the selection of materials which resulted in the omission of much of the direct testimony in the five large volumes of the hearings. Of course, transcripts of hearings can be faulted because they lack such subtleties as voice inflection, audience-witness interaction, and points of verbal emphasis during prolonged testimony. In addition, there were off-the-record discussions in Phoneix which conceivably could have contained more important material than that which was recorded.

The following problems and suggested solutions pertinent to American Indian education are drawn from the Appendix to the Training Center Report cited above.

Problems in Indian Education and Recommendations
from the California Indian Education Association.
Testimony of Elijah Smith in Los Angeles,
December 16, 1968.

Problems

1) Many teachers do not understand adjustment problems of Indian children to the classroom situation. There is little communication between the teacher and the parent. The parent rarely visits the schools except when they come to the teacher or administrator upset about some serious problem. In turn, the teacher rarely familiarizes himself with the actual home situation of the Indian pupil, which results in severe misunderstanding, including schoolwork assignments, which many of the pupils find impossible to carry out in their formal home environment.

2) The majority of the textbooks contain almost nothing about the character of Indian culture prior to the coming of the white man.

3) The schools have little available in audio-visual and supplemental materials to make Indian culture and history vivid and intriguing to all students.

4) Some of the materials used in schools do much damage to the Indian child's sense of identity and personal worth. The entire educational structure should be aware that although basic differences exist between Indian and non-Indian cultures, these are not necessarily bad but can be used to make human interaction more meaningful and successful for all children.

5) Some of the things taught in school may be contrary to what the Indian child has learned at home, thereby causing severe emotional conflicts and frustrations.

6) Behavioral patterns of many Indian parents need to be modified in order to provide the home environment necessary for building a positive self-image.

7) Not enough Indian parents involve themselves in schools and school problems.

8) Rural schools do not always take full advantage of various educational programs available to them.

9) The State of California has been negligent in its responsibility to provide adequate education for its Indians.

10) Federal educational programs available to Indians in other states are not available in California.

Since the reason for examining problem areas was to arrive at solutions, the participants made certain recommendations and I will give them to you as we have them listed.

The first recommendation was made to the parents of Indian children.

I. The conference participants felt very strongly that the role of the Indian parent is of crucial significance. Parents must assume greater responsibility for the educational and emotional development of their children and not expect the school to succeed where parents fail. More specifically,

A. Parents should assume the responsibility of counseling and guiding their children at home.

B. Parents should provide training in Indian history and culture at home to supplement community and school efforts.

C. Parents should participate actively in organizations such as Parent-Teachers Association and should visit the school frequently, not just when their child has a problem.

D. Parents should help the Indian community develop educational and recreational programs for youth.

E. Parents should attend classes inorder to prepare themselves for helping their children, if the parents lack suitable background.

F. Parents should be willing to serve as teachers in Head Start programs and as teacher aides and resource persons in regular classrooms; and

G. Parents should work to improve their self-image by setting better examples for their children within the home and community.

Our second recommendation was made to the Indian community.

II. The local Indian community must better organize itself so as to provide services to youth not now available and so as to be in a position to help the schools improve their educational programs.

Specifically, we gave these recommendations:

A. Indian-centered clubs should be encouraged, along with museums, arts and crafts workshops, recreation programs, and Head Start classes where these do not now exist.

B. Indian self-help or benevolent societies might be organized to provide financial assistance to pupils and families in times of emergency.

C. Indian people should have greater contact with teachers, counselors, administrators and school board members by means of formal and informal meetings arranged by the Indian community.

D. To achieve the latter a local educatien organization may be necessary, and

E. The Indian community should develop resource people for use in schools and should put on lectures about Indian subjects for the benefit of Indians and non-Indians.

The third recommendation was made to the school's administrators and school board members.

III. The school should serve all people in the total community. Indian parents and organizations must be involved in the life of the school and in making decisions about the school's program. Communication between the school and Indian parents must be improved. The local Indian heritage must be recognized as a key part of the school curriculum reflecting as it does the heritage of the local region for all pupils. More specifically,

A. Indian parents should be encouraged to be involved in the school as school board members, resource people, teacher aides, volunteer counselors, and PTA members.

B. School personnel must establish friendly contacts with Indian people which means that they must overcome prejudice and participate, when appropriate, in Indian organized activities and get to know parents.

C. Better lines of communication should be established between the school and Indian parents, perhaps by means of frequent contacts as has already been recommended.

D. The school must show respect for the Indian language and heritage but at the same time must allow the Indian people to determine for themselves what "Indian" means today. That is, the school must rely heavily upon Indian resource people in the development of curriculum dealing with the Indian heritage, ~~ex~~ especially as it relates to the present day.

E. School districts with Indian pupils should make every effort to secure certified staff of Indian background, in addition to utilizing local Indian adults and older youth as aides, tutors, and so forth.

Our fourth recommendation was made to the colleges and universities. This particular recommendation is one we like to emphasize:

IV. The conference participants strongly recommend that California's colleges and universities strengthen their programs in California Indian history and culture, develop special programs for teachers of California Indian pupils, establish more scholarships for Indian students, and take steps to insure that full information on college requirements and scholarships are made available to Indian high school students. More specifically,

A. Courses should be available, where feasible, on California Indian languages, taught for the benefit of average students and not solely for students of linguistics.

B. Additional courses on California Indian history and culture should be available, especially for prospective and experienced teachers, and existing courses dealing with California history should be altered or lengthened so as to allow for full treatment of all minority groups' contributions.

C. One or more California state college or university campuses should be strongly encouraged to develop a center for Indian studies in order to provide special training for teachers, Indian leaders, social workers, and so forth. For example, to carry out research projects relating to California Indians, and in order to help develop Indian-related materials for use in the schools. Such a center should

work closely with an Indian advisory panel and with Indian organizations in order to insure that the scholars involved do not simply exploit Indian culture, archaeological sites, and so forth.

D. Special interdisciplinary training programs should be developed for prospective and experienced teachers emphasizing anthropology, sociology, social psychology and minority group history and culture. These programs must include procedures whereby the student teachers become familiar with the specific language, history, and contemporary culture of the people with whom they will be working, perhaps by means of instruction "in the field" after employment is secured but prior to beginning actual teaching.

E. Scholarships or other aids should be provided to encourage graduate work in Indian education.

F. Special counseling and tutoring arrangements should be developed to help Indian students overcome high school deficiencies.

G. More dormitories at economical rates for rural student at junior and state colleges should be provided.

In California we have some Indian groups that are very isolated. It is impossible to communicate. So we are recommending that dormitories be established.

H. Work-study opportunities should be provided for Indian students.

I. Special procedures should be developed for insuring that minority high school students are fully aware of college requirements and scholarship aid programs.

Our fifth recommendation was made to the teachers and prospective teachers:

V. The conference participants recommend strongly that teachers receive special pre-service and in-service training designed to thoroughly familiarize themselves with the special background of the Indian child and with the history and values of the local Indian community. Teachers working with Indian pupils need to be especially empathetic and prejudice-free individuals, they need to interact in a friendly manner with Indian parents more frequently, and they should be receptive to the use of Indian adults as resource people and aides in their classrooms. More specifically, we gave these recommendations:

A. Teachers need to understand thoroughly the background of the Indian children with whom they are working. This requires an understanding of the local and/or general Indian heritage, and the social structure of the region, in addition to, a general knowledge of Indian history and culture.

B. Teachers should respect the heritage and values of the local Indian community because such respect is closely related to the development of a positive self-image on the part of Indian youth.

C. Teachers should become familiar with at least commonly used words and phrases from the local Indian language as one means for showing respect for the native culture.

D. Teachers need to be aware of their own middle-class assumptions and prejudices, and of their own personality traits and manners, so as to be able to modify those aspects of their behavior which inhibit easy interaction with Indian pupils and parents.

E. Teachers should be trained to utilize Indian aides and resource people in the classroom and should be helped to overcome any fear of having non-teacher adults in the classroom.

The sixth recommendation was to counselors and administrators.

VI. The conference participants felt that counselors and administrators need to develop the same understanding of the Indian heritage and community as do teachers, and that, in addition, counselors must strive to develop empathetic behavior as regards the shy or alienated child.

A. Counselors must not channel an Indian child into a largely athletic or non-college program until the child has clearly demonstrated that he wishes to be a "vocational" major. Even then, the vocational programs available at junior colleges should be kept open as options for future education.

B. Schools should be sure that Indian pupils are made aware of scholarship opportunities and college requirements at an early age.

C. Work study programs should be available as an alternative to dropping out of school completely and every effort should be made to keep "dropouts" in school.

D. An Indian person, preferably an older person familiar with the language and culture of his own people, should be used as a liaison person between school counselors and parents.

E. An "opportunities" counselor, preferably an Indian, should be available to work with both parents and youth.

Our seventh recommendation was made on the Indian heritage.

VII. The conference participants believed very strongly that the Indian heritage should be an integral part of the programs of the school and the Indian community. The use of the Indian heritage in the school is especially important for helping Indian pupils develop a sense of identity and personal worth. Local Indian people must be actively involved in any programs developed by a school that touch upon the Indian heritage. More specifically, these were recommended:

A. The Indian people must unify and emphasize their culture, and learn how to retain it and teach it to the younger generation.

B. Indian people should be brought into the school to help professional staff develop materials for the curriculum and to teach arts and crafts, dancing, singing, and so forth.

C. The school, Indian adults, and children together should develop projects to record local Indian history, protect historical cemetery sites, construct exhibits, preserve Indian place-names, and put on pageants.

D. Non-Indians must recognize that the Indian heritage is a living evolving legacy which has not been static in the past and is not static today and that the "core" of being Indian is being a member of an Indian community and not a particular style of dress or ornamentation.

Our eighth recommendation was made to textbooks and mass media.

VIII. Indian people are not pleased with most of the textbooks utilized in the schools. The participants recommended the following:

A. That textbooks used in California be changed so as to deal accurately with the history and culture of California Indians.

B. That new supplementary materials dealing specifically with California Indian history and culture be prepared.

C. That all texts include pictures of children of different racial backgrounds, including Indians.

D. That the "mass media" television, movies and so forth, deal accurately and adequately with minority groups. For example: in documentary materials, Indian actors should be utilized for Indian roles and the use of stereotypes should be discarded.

Our ninth recommendation was made to the State of California.

IX. The participants felt that the above recommendations should be of vital concern to State officials and that they should make every effort to carry out these suggested programs. Specifically:

A. That state financing should be made available in support of recommendations made in this report, such as the establishment of a Center for California Indian studies.

B. That Johnson O'Malley funds be utilized at the state and regional levels to help implement other recommendations made in this report; for example: to finance meetings of Indian people and teachers to aid in the teacher training programs referred to earlier, and to pay the salary of a specialist in Indian education who would be a person intimately familiar with the culture and history of California Indians.

C. That adult education programs be expanded especially in terms of preparing parents to help their children educationally.

D. That the State of California request its fair share of funds for Indian education available hopefully under the Johnson O'Malley Act.

E. That these funds be utilized under the direction and voice and supervision of the Indian people.

Our tenth recommendation was made to the Federal Government.

X. While many of the above recommendations should be of vital concern to Government officials, the conference participants felt that government officials should do something about the fact that the California Indians are being discriminated against, considering that educational programs available to Indians of other states are not always available to California Indians.

A. That the Federal Government make Johnson O'Malley funds available to California Indians under the direction of California Indians.

B. That all possible college scholarships (such as those of the Bureau of Indian Affairs) be available to California Indians.

C. That Head Start pre-school programs be expanded with more all-year activities, a smaller pupil number requirement, and more local Indian involvement.

D. That local Indian communities in California should be actively encouraged to develop educational programs financed by the Office of Economic Opportunity.

E. We hope that the federal agencies carefully consider ways and means in which federal funds can be utilized to encourage the adoption of these recommendations which we have made to the State of California and to the Government.

[Los Angeles, pp. 42-50, Elijah Smith]

Some Further Action Areas Concerning Twin Cities Junior High School Indian Students

As in the case of previous "action summaries" of data gathered from Twin Cities School populations, we feel it possible to suggest some potential areas of practical importance concerning the junior high school Indian children themselves. We realize that we have already indicated some possible action areas for this and other populations earlier, but it is likely that a more detailed group of suggestions is possible.

1. Twin Cities Indian students may be indicating they wish assistance in getting along with other students, and if this is the case, such assistance should be provided as soon as possible.

2. There is considerable evidence to suggest that many Twin Cities Indian students do not actually plan to go on to high school - this possibility should be looked into more fully and action interventions should be considered.

3. A heavy "useable trade" interest is apparent among Twin Cities Junior high students - this interest should be further investigated and some pilot action projects should be considered.

4. There is a strong bimodal tendency in the Twin Cities Indian junior high students population over questions of Indian-oriented thinking and activity - these populations are probably distinct ones for the most part, and Indian-oriented programming should take cognizance of this population distinction in practical ways.

5. Some students are ambivalent or negative about all-Indian functions in the school context - these responses should be more carefully investigated and examined for their ideological and emotional characteristics.

6. Much of the response tendency in Twin Cities Indian students regarding the question of separatism versus integration is complex and probably related to distinctive students groups - this phenomenon should be investigated in far more detail before practical program planning.

7. Many Twin Cities Indian students appear to be ambivalent or negative about Indian teacher aides - this apparent fact should be investigated further before practical program planning.

8. There is apparently a fundamental absence of Indian student knowledge about historically and culturally knowledgeable Indian persons - this is probably related to substantive identity problems, and should be corrected by model or example as soon as possible.

9. The possibilities of Indian language classes should be investigated.

10. There are persistent and disturbing indications of low student self-esteem on the part of Twin Cities junior high school Indian children - these characteristics should be more thoroughly investigated before a heavy emphasis upon Indian-oreinted curricula is established at the school.

11. There are strong indications of psychological and social separation from school on the part of Twin Cities Indian students - this "accomodative" pattern is all too familiar in other instances of Indian education and should be investigated in far greater detail.

12. The possibility of enhanced Twin Cities Indian parental control over school-related behavior of their offspring should be investigated further in light of the general insistence by Indian children that their parents should require them to attend school.

13. There is an apparent communications gap between about half of the junior high school Indian students and their parents - this problem is almost certainly related to a bimodal student population distribution, and should be investigated prior to the blanket initiation of change programs requiring greater parental-student communication.

14. The general lack of Indian student desires to have their parents visit the school is likely based upon complex psychological and social characteristics, and should be investigated in more detail before the initiation of contact-oriented community relations programs.

15. The cultural problems suggested by discontinuities between school and home behavior should be looked into more closely, perhaps in the context of "open seminars" on the subject which would involve Indian students, parents, and school personnel.

16. The possibility of initiating "high pay-off" work-study programs for junior high school Indian students should be investigated.

17. The provision of more truly free time for Twin Cities junior high Indian students should be investigated.

18. Twin Cities junior high Indian students should probably be involved in substantive discussions about the utility of the daily school schedule.

19. The interest exhibited by junior high Indian students in work programs should be investigated, with special attention to the general interest of these students in remaining in school.

20. There is the possibility that Twin Cities Indian student adhere to the abstract concept of rules and appropriate rule behavior - this cognitive "understanding" should be operationalized through appropriate alterations in the rule structure to accomodate the different cultural background of Indian students.

21. The inter-ethnic social interaction characteristics of many Twin Cities junior high school Indian students should be looked into in far greater detail, especially if the possibility exists that the more alienated students (from self, Indians, Blacks, and whites) are identifying and/or interacting with certain groups in regular ways.

22. Practical action should be taken on the depressingly low-level occupational and "professional" orientation of many Twin Cities Indian students.

23. Twin Cities junior high Indian student suggestions that teacher courtesy, positive reciprocity, "fairness" in making assignments and assigning grades, and personal attention without recourse to group comparison should be investigated in far greater detail for their possible concrete pay-offs.

24. The tendency of many junior high school Indian students not to be interested in school should be investigated with an eye to creating a more sexually valid, action-oriented, and reality-oriented school environment.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Anonymous. "Some Facts on Our Community," Minneapolis Public Schools February 6, 1969, 1 p. (mimeo).

[2]Ibid.

[3]Anonymous. "What's New in the Minneapolis Public Schools? Elementary - 1967-68," Minneapolis Public Schools, no date; and Anonymous, "Annual Report Department of Elementary Education 1968-69," Minneapolis Public Schools, no date.

[4]Anonymous, "What's New in the Minneapolis Public Schools? Secondary - 1967-68," Minneapolis Public Schools, no date.

[5]Of course, the accuracy of a racial sight count, depending as it does upon the visual classification of children into racial categories by a host of teachers on a given day, is open to serious question. These figures must therefore be regarded as only rough estimates.

[6]Anonymous. "Sight Count of Pupils," Minneapolis Public Schools, 1967 and 1968, December 17, 1968, memeo.

[7]League of Women Voters of Minneapolis and Training Center for Community Programs, University of Minnesota, op. cit, p. 29.

[8]Anonymous. "Twenty Indian Seniors Honored," The North Side Pilot, June, 1969.

[9]League of Women Voters of Minneapolis and Training Center for Community Programs, University of Minnesota, op. cit., p. 6.

[10]Ibid., p. 29,and Anonymous. "State Board's School Integration Policy," editorial, The Minneapolis Tribune, October 16, 1969

[11]Anonymous. "7 Pct. of City Teachers from Minority Groups," Minneapolis Tribune, November 12, 1969.

[12]League of Women Voters of Minneapolis and Training Center for Community Programs, University of Minnesota, op. cit., p. 32.

[13]League of Women Voters of Minneapolis and Training Center for Community Programs, University of Minnesota, op. cit., pp. 34-35.

[14]League of Women Voters of Minneapolis and Training Center for Community Programs, University of Minnesota, op. cit., pp. 8-13.

[15]Kottke, Lee. "Indians Assail 'the System' Today" Minneapolis Tribune, April 25, 1968.

[16]Harkins, Arthur M. Public Education on a Minnesota Chippewa Reservation, Technical Report #7 - 8138 to the United States Office of Education, October 9, 1967, pp. 284-287.

[17]On the matter of the Indian value of non-interference in interpersonal relations, see Rosalie H. Wax and Robert K. Thomas, "American Indians and White People," Phylon, Vol. 22, 1961, pp. 305-317.

[18]Cavender, Christian C., "A History of the Indian Advisory Committee to the Minneapolis Public Schools," July, 1969 (mimeo), p. 2.

[19]O'Brien, Margaret. "Overview of the History and Culture of the Minneapolis Indian - Summary," Minneapolis Public Schools, Mimeo.

[20]Howell, Deborah. "Indians to Remain as Advisers", Minneapolis Star, September 10, 1968.

[21]Cavender, Christian C., op. cit., p. 3.

[22]City Schools Name Indian Consultant," Minneapolis Tribune, November 13, 1969.

[23]Special Subcommittee on Indian Education, Indian Education: A National Tragedy - A National Challenge - 1969 Report of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, United States Senate, Washington: 1969.

[24]Madison Coombs, "The Indian Student Is Not Low Man On the Totem Pole," Journal of American Indian Education, Vol. 9, No. 3, May, 1970.

[25]Training Center for Community Programs, Indian Education in Minneapolis: An Interim Report, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota: 1969.

[26]Arthur M. Harkins, Public Education on a Minnesota Chippewa Reservation, University of Kansas: 1968.

[27]Murray L. Wax, Rosalie H. Wax, and Robert V. Dumont, Jr., Formal Education in an American Indian Community, supplement to Social Problems, Spring, 1964.

[28]Special Subcommittee on Indian Education, op. cit., pp. 52-53.

[29]Minneapolis Public Schools, A Community Looks at Its Schools: An Inter-Agency Task Force Approach, January 24, 1969, p. 4.

[30]Richard G. Woods and Arthur M. Harkins, Education-Related Preferences and Characteristics of College-Aspiring Urban Indian Teenagers: A Preliminary Report (Minneapolis: Training Center for Community Programs, University of Minnesota, May, 1969), p. 6.

[31]Special Subcommittee on Indian Education, op. cit.

[32]Meriam, Lewis, et. al. The Problems of Indian Administration, Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1928, pp. 401-402.